

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

## New facts on gov't killing of Panther leader

—See page 6



Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton, slain by Chicago cops, Dec. 4, 1969.



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## Problems facing United Farm Workers boycott mov't

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## THE MILITANT

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Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS  
Business Manager: SHARON CABANISS  
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING

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### JUDGE ISSUES PRISON CENSORSHIP GUIDELINES:

In a recent decision, U. S. District Court Judge Stanley Weigel ruled that the censorship conducted by prison officials at the Deuel Vocational Institution was uninformed, capricious, and arbitrary. He also said the prison's policy was in violation of the First and Fourteenth Amendment rights of inmates. The prison is about 80 miles south of San Francisco.

Judge Weigel went on to limit the extent to which prison officials may censor the mail and reading material of inmates. He said that books or periodicals requested by prisoners must be approved or disapproved within five days. If found objectionable, reasons must be given. Inmates must be informed of the barring of mail within two days.

The court decision was won in a suit filed by the Public Advocates, Inc. Sidney Wolinsky, an attorney for the group, said the decision was "an extremely important precedent nationwide."

**FILES KEPT ON BANK DEPOSITORS:** If you write a check for \$100 or more, your bank must make a micro-film copy of it for its files. This is in accordance with the Bank Secrecy Act of 1970, which the Supreme Court upheld in a recent decision.

The law had been challenged by the American Civil Liberties Union and others. The ACLU pointed out that the law violates legal safeguards against unreasonable searches and seizures, the right of privacy, and involuntary self-incrimination. The law also makes it possible for the government, through a check of bank files, to obtain membership lists of political organizations and other private associations.

The court ruled that these claims were "speculative" and "premature." The court said that government seizures of records could be challenged at the "appropriate" time.

**ATTICA DEFENDANT SPEAKS IN BLOOMINGTON, IND.:** Approximately five hundred people attended a meeting at which Attica defendant Frank "Big Black" Smith spoke at Indiana University April 5. The meeting was also addressed by Black playwright Arthur Burghardt-Banks, who spent 27 months in federal prisons for draft resistance.

The forum was sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance, Indiana Political Prisoners Committee, Indiana University Student Association (student government), and several IU dormitories.

Big Black spoke about the Attica indictments and efforts across the country to build a defense campaign for the Attica brothers.

Burghardt-Banks explained how he was framed up for allegedly "leading" a prison revolt and kept in solitary confinement for 15 months. He is currently appealing a decision by an Indiana judge denying him the right to be defended by the attorney of his choice, William Kunstler.

The night before this meeting Big Black spoke to an audience of more than 80 people in Indianapolis.

The Young Socialist Alliance candidates for student government distributed a statement to the gathering giving their full support to the struggle for democratic rights of prisoners.

**STUDENT ACTIVISTS SUE ADMINISTRATION:** More than 100 students and faculty at Southern Connecticut State College in New Haven have filed a civil liberties lawsuit against the school administration. The suit was filed because of the administration's refusal to allow fund raising for political groups at literature tables on campus. The plaintiffs are seeking more than \$5-million in damages.

Also joining in the suit are the Political Rights Defense Fund and Women vs. Connecticut. Local supporters of the PRDF were denied the right to sell buttons and take contributions at a literature table set up in December 1973. They plan to have a table in mid-April and are seeking an injunction to be able to raise funds pending the outcome of the suit.

Supporters of Women vs. Connecticut were denied the right to raise money for abortion law repeal and sell bus tickets to the Nov. 20, 1971, Women's National Abortion Coalition demonstration in Washington, D. C.

The legal brief was filed by attorney David Rosen, acting on behalf of the Connecticut Civil Liberties Union. The complaint points out that various charities and supporters of the Democratic and Republican parties have been allowed to raise money on campus.

**HUNDREDS ATTEND 'FIESTA DEL BARRIO':** More than three hundred Chicanos and Latinos came to Fremont High Auditorium in Oakland March 28 for the Fourth Annual Fiesta del Barrio. Cosponsored by Merritt and Laney colleges, the event featured the theater group Los Mascarones from Mexico City.

Juan Fernandez and Rudy Sanchez, two of Los Tres del Barrio (three antidrug activists who face frame-up charges in Los Angeles), spoke on their continuing effort

to mount support for their defense case. Bert Corona, founder of CASA, the Los Angeles-based antideportation organization, also spoke.

Rudy Sanchez pointed to the contradictions between the sentences received by Lieutenant William Calley (recently released from house arrest pending an appeal) and Spiro Agnew, and Los Tres. "Calley," said Sanchez, "who was responsible for the killing of hundreds of women and children, old men and old women in Vietnam—what did he get? A paid apartment for two years. And what about Agnew? He's speaking throughout the country in campuses, getting paid for it, to tell you how he ripped you off."

The case of Los Tres del Barrio is still pending in the appeals court. The three face charges with combined sentences of 75 years.

**ACLU BACKS LAWTON DEFENSE:** The American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California has announced its entry into the murder trial of Gary Lawton and Zurebu Gardner. At a news conference in Riverside, Calif., on April 1, ACLU spokesman Mark Rosenbaum characterized the prosecution as racist and excessive. The news conference followed a demonstration against police harassment of the defendants, their families, and supporters.

In two lengthy trials, before predominantly white juries, the prosecution had failed to get convictions. In fact, the majority of jurors have voted for acquittal. Lawton and Gardner are being framed for the murder of two Riverside cops three years ago.

The ACLU rarely becomes involved in criminal trials. Rosenbaum explained this exception by saying, "I believe these men are innocent and that the state has had more than ample opportunity to present its case before a judicial tribunal."

### PSYCHIATRISTS DROP GAYS FROM DISORDER LIST:

The membership of the American Psychiatric Association has upheld its board of trustees' decision to drop homosexuality from its list of mental disorders. The defining of gays as "sick" has been used to deny them their civil and human rights.

The APA still maintains a category on its list of mental disorders called "sexual orientation disturbance," which applies to homosexuals who wish to change their sexual orientation. In its position paper the board of trustees says, "This diagnostic category is distinguished from homosexuality which, by itself, does not necessarily constitute a psychiatric disorder."

**BOOK BURNERS AT IT AGAIN:** Last fall when Bruce Severy, a 26-year-old English teacher in Drake, N. D., assigned his class to read *Slaughterhouse-Five*, a group of parents hysterically denounced the book as obscene. In true witch-hunt fashion, they got the school officials to not only burn the novel by Kurt Vonnegut, but also put the torch to copies of James Dickey's *Deliverance* and a collection of short stories by Hemingway, Steinbeck, and others.

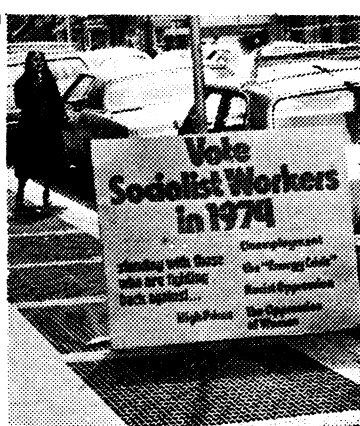
The majority of Severy's students, tenth graders, protested this denial of their right to read whatever they wish.

In its latest move, the school board voted last March not to renew Severy's contract under pressure from parents.

—NORMAN OLIVER

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## Reject gov't 'cross-examination'

# Socialists answer Nixon move to counter Watergate lawsuit

By CINDY JAQUITH

NEW YORK, April 10 — Nixon and his codefendants in the socialist Watergate suit have launched "a counter-attack of smear, distortion, and attempted intimidation" against the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), the two groups charged today at a news conference here.

The news conference was sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which is organizing support for the suit filed by constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin on behalf of the SWP and YSA in July 1973.

The socialists charge in their suit that Nixon and other Watergate figures have directed a campaign of violence and harassment against SWP and YSA members, including wiretapping, use of undercover agents, burglary, and bombing.

As a result of "interrogatories," or questions, filed by the socialists to gain evidence for their suit, the government has already been forced to admit that it carried out an "SWP Disruption Program" in the 1960s, that it conducted electronic surveillance of the SWP beginning in 1945, and that it had a mail cover on the SWP national headquarters.

"We are seeking more evidence now in preparation for bringing the government to trial," said John Ratliff of the PRDF staff. "However, the government has now countered with a 33-page list of its own interrogatories, directed at the SWP and YSA.

"These new interrogatories filed by defendant Nixon and his cohorts, however, are crude attempts to justify this illegal surveillance by accusing the socialists of being 'subversive' and 'violent.'"

Frank Boehm, national director of the SWP 1974 National Campaign Committee, told reporters:

"The interrogatories were concocted by the government in an attempt to throw a roadblock up in front of our suit. They want to prevent our case from getting to the next stage, where Nixon and the other Watergaters will come to trial.

"Nixon acts as though *we* were the defendants and he the prosecutor. But this time, *he's* the defendant; it's *his* crimes and the crimes of the rest of the White House gang, the FBI, and CIA that are being brought before the American people."

### Gov't defense strategy

Ratliff outlined the government's defense strategy as put forward in its interrogatories. "On the one hand, the defendants argue that the views of the SWP and YSA are 'dangerous.' On the other hand, they claim that there is no proof of federal involvement in the attacks on the SWP and YSA anyway.

"Many of the questions, moreover, are blatant attempts by the government to invent rationalizations in order to continue or even increase its surveillance of the socialists. They even have the gall to demand to know where the SWP and YSA keep their membership lists!"

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance filed their response to the government interrogatories on April 3. They refused to answer a whole series of broad questions related to their political views.

These questions ranged from "Describe a workers government" to "Are SWP and YSA and individual plaintiffs

## DEFEND YOUR POLITICAL RIGHTS! GHT WATERGATE CRIMES!

### POLITICAL RIGHTS DEFENSE FUND



Frank Boehm, director of Socialist Workers Party 1974 National Campaign Committee, addresses news conference on Watergate suit. At left is John Ratliff of Political Rights Defense Fund, and at right, Andrew Pulley, Young Socialist Alliance national chairman.

preparing themselves to use violence to achieve revolution. . . ?"

In their legal papers, the socialists pointed out that "the information requested is not relevant to the claim or defense of any party and does not appear reasonably calculated to lead to the discovery of relevant evidence." That is, the answers to these questions have nothing to do with the wiretapping, infiltration, or other illegal government acts the suit seeks to halt.

The legal papers also point out that many of the government's questions were "propounded for the improper purpose of harassing and intimidating plaintiffs and potential witnesses in this case," by violating the socialists' First Amendment right to free speech and freedom of association, and their right to privacy.

### Reject cross-examination

"We reject this move by the government to turn around and try to cross-examine us," Boehm told the news conference.

"These questions about our political views are a crude attempt to place us on trial for our ideas. Thus the defendants hope to shift attention away from the real crimes in this case: *their* use of terrorist attacks, threats, and intimidation against our supporters.

"We reject out of hand their right to inquire into our political views and activities.



Defendant Nixon: biggest candidate-crook in history . . .

"If the government lawyers are interested in our strategy and tactics, they can take out a subscription to *The Militant*," Boehm added. "Our views on socialism and the evils of capitalism are no secret. We have explained them over and over again in our election campaigns and in the hundreds of books and pamphlets distributed by SWP and YSA members.

"In fact, the real complaint of the government is that we talk too much about our ideas. One of the recently released FBI COINTELPRO documents from 1961 on the 'SWP Disruption Program' spells this out. It says: 'The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has, over the past several years, been openly espousing its line on a local and national basis through running candidates for public office and strongly directing and/or supporting such causes as Castro's Cuba and integration problems arising in the South.'"

### Violence-baiting

Many of the government's interrogatories deal with whether the SWP and YSA advocate violence. One such question asks, "have plaintiffs ever been or are they now guided in a belief that established authorities in the United States would resist a communist revolution?"

"What delicate terminology for the ruthless tactics this government uses whenever and wherever the masses try to end exploitation!" Boehm said. "We know full well how the U.S. government 'resisted' the Vietnamese liberation fighters with terror-bombing and napalm. We know how John F. Kennedy 'resisted' the Cuban revolution with the CIA-organized Bay of Pigs invasion. And we have seen how the FBI 'resisted' the Black movement with its COINTELPRO operation to eliminate 'Black messiahs,' which led to the killing of Black activists and leaders.

"These interrogatories are an attempt to renew the time-honored trick of turning the victim into the criminal, of making the opponents of capitalist violence appear to be the ones responsible for that violence."

As an example, Boehm pointed to the following government question: "Are plaintiffs preparing to attain their revolutionary ends by all methods at their disposal including armed rising and, if required, by terrorism?"

The Marxist position on how revolutionary change will come about is a matter of record, Boehm noted. One of the best explanations of this question was given by James P. Cannon, now national chairman emeritus of the SWP, during his trial in 1941 under the thought-control Smith Act.

Cannon, who discovered a government wiretap on his telephone in 1972, is also a plaintiff in the SWP suit.

In his 1941 testimony, reprinted in the book *Socialism on Trial*, Cannon explained:

"The position of the Marxists is that the most economical and preferable, the most desirable method of social transformation, by all means, is to have it done peacefully."

But historically, he explained, the ruling powers have always resisted peaceful change:

"Their attempt to defend themselves against the new order, or to suppress by violence the movement for the new order, has resulted in every important social transformation up to now being accompanied by violence."

### 'No shred of evidence'

Boehm pointed out that the government has "no shred of evidence" to back up its charges that the SWP and YSA are "violent."

"However, almost daily we read in the newspapers about the evidence of *government* violence and attempted intimidation. Right now in the Wounded Knee trial, the federal government's illegal acts, including wiretapping of defendants, are being exposed. There are also new revelations about Internal Revenue Service harassment of hundreds of individuals and political groups.

"But nowhere is there evidence showing any violent or illegal activities on the part of the victims of these government attacks. In our case, Nixon and his attorneys haven't been able to come up with a single supposedly illegal act."

Since the government can make no credible case that the SWP and YSA are "violent," Boehm explained, it resorts to the claim that a *few* members of the SWP and YSA might advocate violence:

"This is what lies behind the following question in their interrogatories: 'Are SWP and YSA and individual plaintiffs preparing themselves to use violence to achieve revolution. . . . If the answer is no, state the position of SWP, YSA and the individual plain-

*Continued on next page*



. . . Plaintiff Jenness: his socialist opponent in 1972 presidential race.



# ...socialists reject gov't smokescreen,

Continued from preceding page  
tiffs on this question and whether any of the plaintiffs are in disagreement. . . ."

A preview of this method of argument appeared in a recent column by veteran red-baiter Victor Riesel. Riesel, who maintains friendly connections with the FBI, tried to link the SWP and YSA to support for terrorist actions like the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst.

After giving his opinion that the SWP is "still nonviolent," Riesel went on to claim that the SWP "has a deviation called the International Tendency which believes in terror and its grim variations." The existence of this "deviation," the columnist argued, requires increased government surveillance against the SWP.

In a statement printed in the April 5 *Militant*, SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes responded to Riesel's charges. "The witch-hunters . . . know that there are no tendencies, no 'deviations,' no 'dissidents,' and no members in the SWP that advocate terrorism," Barnes said. "In view of the traditions of Leninism and Trotskyism and the program of the SWP, support to terrorism is incompatible with membership in the party."

Barnes added that "it is not excluded, of course, that the FBI might 'dis-



Militant/John Gray

Los Angeles socialists' headquarters after 1970 firebombing attack by Cuban exiles with CIA ties. Government says it needs more 'proof' of federal plot to silence SWP and YSA.

cover' a 'member' who would echo slanders such as those made by Riesel. We know the FBI carried out an 'SWP Disruption Program'; we know cops try to infiltrate our ranks, as the Houston police were recently forced to admit.

"Moreover, we know that instigating violence is a time-honored tactic of

agents provocateurs."

The government interrogatories also ask many questions about SWP and YSA support to international struggles of the oppressed and their relationship to the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization.

The government demands to know the itineraries of SWP and YSA members who have traveled abroad and the names of persons they have met on their trips. One question goes so far as to ask: "Have SWP, YSA or any of its members or any other plaintiffs in any way aided violent revolution or guerrilla warfare any place in the world?"

In posing such questions, Boehm explained, "The government is trying to suggest that socialists have no right to travel abroad or exchange views with socialists in other countries. We reject this. The SWP and YSA are proud of our record of solidarity with international struggles, and in particular, with the fraternal support we give to the Fourth International.

"As the government well knows," Boehm said, "we are unable to be formally affiliated to the Fourth International because of the Voorhis Act and other witch-hunt laws in this country. We are demanding that these laws be repealed.

"Instead of asking us these questions about our international ties," Boehm added, "it would be more appropriate for Nixon and his gang—the defendants in this case—to do a little explaining about the worldwide violence they have instigated through such undercover agencies as the CIA. Why doesn't defendant Nixon tell us about the travels of CIA agents to such places as Iran in 1953, or Vietnam in 1963, or Chile in 1973?

"The U.S. government brands international visits among socialists as a threat to 'national security,' but Nixon's generals and secret police are only too happy to collaborate on an international scale with dictators like Thieu, the shah of Iran, and the Chilean butcher Pinochet."

## Socialist election campaigns

The government interrogatories also contain many questions about the SWP's election campaigns. Andrew Pulley, YSA national chairman and the SWP 1972 vice-presidential candidate, addressed himself to these questions. One of the questions asks:

"Do SWP, YSA and individual plaintiffs take the position that there is a 'parliamentary road' to socialism—that is, is it their position that they can achieve their revolutionary goals

through peaceful elections?" Another asks, "Is it a purpose of SWP, YSA and/or individual plaintiffs by participating in United States elections to make every effort to create a revolutionary situation?"

Pulley told reporters that these questions were transparent attempts to discredit SWP election campaigns by making them appear to "undermine" free elections. "They are trying to say that we have no right to run for office because our candidates tell the truth about capitalist elections: that they are dominated from top to bottom by the Democrats and Republicans, who serve in the interests of the tiny minority of rich families who run this country.

"It is absolutely ludicrous that Richard Nixon, the most notorious candidate-crook of the century, should accuse us of undermining free elections!

"In fact, four of the men we named as defendants in our suit—Mitchell, Haldeman, Ehrlichman, and Mardian—have been indicted by a federal grand jury for their dirty tricks during the 1972 elections."

## Dirty tricks

The victims of dirty tricks in the elections have always been the labor, socialist, Black, and Chicano candidates running in opposition to the Democrats and Republicans, Pulley noted. "The capitalists use everything they have—discriminatory election laws, prohibitive filing fees, and FBI intimidation of campaign supporters—to try to keep independent candidates out of the elections.

"In their attempt to discredit the SWP as a legitimate political party, the government even resorts to the worn-out charge that Linda Jenness, our 1972 presidential candidate, and myself were 'too young' to run, because we didn't meet their 35-year-old age requirement.

"Maybe we were 'too young' to suit the government, but at least we were honest, which is more than our Democratic and Republican opponents in that race can say. And they needn't worry about how we would take office if elected. If we won enough votes to be elected, I'm sure we could win



U.S. war of genocide in Vietnam. Rulers of U.S. are the ones responsible for violence, not their opponents.

## Political Rights Defense Fund

"A victory in this case will mean a victory for the political rights of all," declare 13 Black leaders in their appeal for support to the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF). The PRDF is gathering endorsements and financial contributions for the Watergate suit of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

Signers of the new appeal include Representative Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.); Georgia state legislator Julian Bond; Black Panther Party leaders Huey Newton and Bobby Seale; and Dr. Ralph Abernathy, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

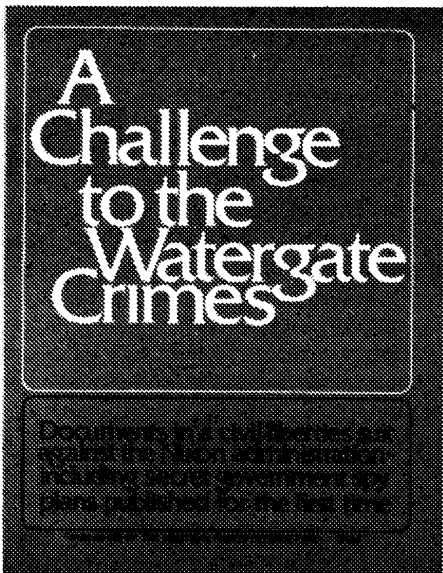
Among the hundreds of other supporters of the PRDF are former senators Ernest Gruening and Eugene McCarthy; Daniel Ellsberg; Dr. Benjamin Spock; Gloria Steinem; former attorney general Ramsey Clark; and Louis Antal, president of District 5 of the United Mine Workers.

Antal pointed out in a statement sent to a recent PRDF news conference in Pittsburgh: "When Nixon wraps himself in the flag of National Security, he's talking about security for the giant corporations. Workers know the real meaning of National Security. It means decent living and working conditions. It means protection of the democratic processes and the political organizations through which we struggle to improve our lives.

"For all these reasons I give wholehearted support to the Political Rights Defense Fund. All of us who have been dismayed by the government's contemptuous disregard for constitutional freedoms welcome this significant step in

countering the Watergate threat to the political liberties of every citizen."

Funds are urgently needed to meet the high legal expenses involved in this case. To make a donation, or for more information on the PRDF, send in the coupon.



Clip and mail to: Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 691-3270.

( ) Enclosed is \$\_\_\_\_\_ to help cover expenses.

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# press ahead with legal fight

enough support for a constitutional amendment to throw out the outmoded age requirement."

Repeatedly throughout its interrogatories, the government insists that the SWP and YSA present proof—documents, tapes, or other materials—of federal complicity in the attacks on the SWP and YSA. The socialists point out in their answer, "Most of these writings and recordings have been concealed by defendants and their details are therefore unknown. . . ."

## Proof of gov't attacks

However, enough documents have already been revealed—including memos on the "SWP Disruption Program," the FBI mail cover on the SWP, and the FBI's wiretapping of SWP members—to prove the charges. Other material is being sought from the government by attorneys for the SWP and YSA.

The socialists have included with their answers to the government interrogatories nearly 200 documented cases of FBI harassment of SWP and YSA members and supporters. These cases range from FBI visits to employers resulting in loss of jobs, to FBI harassment of socialists running in union elections, to the planting of

**The recently released FBI COINTELPRO documents on "disrupting" and "neutralizing" the Black movement were reproduced in full in the March 22 Militant. Copies of this issue of The Militant are available at 50 cents each by writing to Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.**

agents provocateurs in the SWP and YSA.

Cited are 146 cases of FBI visits for the purpose of harassment in 60 cities; socialist GIs given less than honorable discharges for their political views; SWP members being approached to become government informers; and the discovery of one SWP member of 12 years who was an FBI informer.

Some of the other cases include the following:

- FBI agents visited the employer of Ernest Able in Tampa, Fla., in 1970. They told his boss Able was a communist, and Able was fired.

- FBI agents visited the manager of the Cleveland hotel where the YSA held its 1972 convention a week before that convention. They characterized the YSA as dangerous and said their agents would monitor the gathering.

- A 1973 visit by FBI agents to the employer of Marc Rich in San Diego led to harassment of Rich when he tried to run for shop steward in his union.

- In 1973 FBI agents visited the landlord of Linda Jenness in New York. They told him Jenness had run for president in 1972 on the SWP ticket and implied that he therefore did not have to rent to her.

The response also documents the evidence of government complicity in the bombing attacks on SWP headquarters in Houston and Los Angeles, and the burglarizing of the Detroit SWP offices.

"All this evidence points to a coordinated national campaign by the government to violate the constitutional rights of the SWP and YSA," PRDF spokesman Ratliff said.

"In the face of this evidence, government demands that the SWP and YSA



Recently disclosed documents on FBI plot to 'neutralize' Black movement show lengths to which government goes to destroy its 'enemies.'

make available the addresses of victims of this harassment and turn over such things as financial records, private correspondence, and political discussion bulletins are absurd.

"These outrageous demands are simply an attempt to Watergate the socialists right in the middle of their suit. The SWP and YSA refuse to comply with these requests."

Ratliff added, "By making these requests, the government unwittingly reveals that it has never had any basis for its surveillance of the socialists. It has always claimed that the SWP and YSA are 'subversive,' but now we see that it has absolutely nothing to back up this spurious charge."

## 'Real subverters'

PRDF National Secretary Syd Stapleton explained that "the facts that

have come out in the course of this suit show who the real subverters of democratic rights are. This is why Nixon and the other defendants are desperately trying to slow down our case with their smokescreen of interrogatories.

"We know that the revelations we have forced from the government thus far have merely scratched the surface. We intend to press this case until we have exposed all their illegal attacks on the SWP and YSA.

"This means PRDF's activities will increase in the coming months and so will our needs for funds to cover intensified legal expenses and publicity.

"This is our answer to Nixon and his codefendants: We are going to move ahead in our suit until we bring a halt to your crimes."

## Cannon vs. government

More than a dozen questions in the government interrogatories in response to the socialist Watergate suit deal with one plaintiff, James P. Cannon. Cannon is the national chairman emeritus of the Socialist Workers Party.

Despite the fact that the FBI files must be bulging with material on this longtime revolutionary leader, the government demands to know some very basic things about plaintiff Cannon.

- "Were plaintiff James P. Cannon and/or any of his followers or associates ever expelled or otherwise removed from membership in the Communist Party of the United States?" the government asks. Yes, as is well known, Cannon, a founder and central leader of the CP, was expelled in 1928 because of his opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

- "Have plaintiff James P. Cannon and/or any other past or present member or members of SWP ever been convicted in a United States federal court of advocating the overthrow of the Government by force and violence?"

As the FBI and the other defendants in this suit are well aware—since they're the ones who framed him!—Cannon, along with other SWP leaders, was convicted of this phony charge in 1941, and he spent more than a year in jail. Much of the Smith "Gag" Act under which he was found guilty was later held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

The full story of Cannon's trial,



Militant/John Gray

James P. Cannon, national chairman emeritus of Socialist Workers Party.

including his entire testimony, is printed in the book *Socialism on Trial*. This book is available to government defense lawyers and other interested persons for \$2.25 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

What any of these questions have to do with Cannon's charge in this suit—that he discovered a government wiretap on his phone in 1972—is hard to say. It's even harder to understand how the government could be so brazen as to demand from Cannon "the substance of any overheard conversation" that it was recording!

## Judge dismisses three in W'gate suit

Federal Judge Thomas Griesa dismissed three defendants in the socialist Watergate suit, H.R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, and Robert Mardian, on March 29.

The three had filed dismissal motions based on the argument that they do not reside in New York and therefore are not within the jurisdiction of the federal courts in New York, where the suit has been filed.

The ruling was a setback for the suit. But Griesa did state, "If and when plaintiffs obtain . . . facts sufficient to assert jurisdiction over Haldeman, Ehrlichman or Mardian, plaintiffs may apply to the Court for leave to add such defendants. . . ."

Griesa previously upheld this same "jurisdiction" argument in dismissing Tom Charles Huston, author of the 1970 spy plan, from the suit in the fall of 1973.

Haldeman, Ehrlichman, and Mardian are named in the suit as conspirators in the government campaign against the SWP and YSA. As the Senate Watergate hearings amply demonstrated, all three were deeply involved in plotting illegal surveillance, such as the Huston Plan, against dissenting groups.

In arguing against dismissing the three defendants, attorneys for the SWP and YSA cited cases where the methods of the Huston Plan were used against the socialists in New York. They pointed to the FBI interception of a letter from Lori Paton, a New Jersey high school student, to the SWP in New York. They also cited the burglary of the apartment of Norman Oliver, SWP 1973 mayoral candidate in New York.

However, Griesa ruled that "after analyzing this record, I conclude that it does not provide any factual basis for connecting Haldeman, Ehrlichman or Mardian with any of the activities in New York relied upon by plaintiffs as grounds for jurisdiction."

In addition, the judge indicated that he had fallen for Nixon's claim that the Huston Plan never went into effect. ". . . the Senate Committee materials provided by plaintiffs would indicate that implementation of the Huston Plan was largely aborted," he wrote in his decision, ignoring the considerable amount of evidence that at least some parts of the plan were put into effect, and have been used continuously by the government since 1970, when Huston drew it up.

Griesa also got his facts totally confused. The SWP and YSA cited the FBI's "SWP Disruption Program"—begun in 1961—as proof of a pattern of government conspiracy to deny their rights. Griesa's decision, however, says, "it would be unrealistic to conclude that the FBI Disruption Program stemmed from the Huston Plan," the exact opposite of what the socialists argued!

In the meantime, attorneys for the SWP and YSA have filed new requests for documents from the government, including information on the FBI's "Communist Party Disruption Program," which was described in an FBI memo as the model for the disruption program against the SWP and against Black organizations.

The attorneys have requested the names of those in charge of the CP Disruption Program, the tactics employed in the program, all documents on it, and whether it is still in operation.

# New facts on '69 Chicago Panther raid

By WILLIE REID

CHICAGO—When police stormed into the apartment of Fred Hampton on Dec. 4, 1969, killing Hampton as he slept in his bed and gunning down Black Panther Party leader Mark Clark as well, they set off a nationwide outcry against these brutal murders.

Massive pressure forced the convening of a federal grand jury to hear evidence on the case. Black leaders

**Willie Reid is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from Chicago's 1st Congressional District.**

throughout the country condemned the attack, and former U.S. attorney general Ramsey Clark and NAACP executive director Roy Wilkins agreed to act as cochairmen of an independent commission of inquiry into the raid.

Despite this, none of those involved in this search-and-destroy operation against the Panthers were ever brought to justice. Criminal charges were brought against State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan, who ordered the raid, and against the participants in it, but they all got off scot-free, thanks to the sheltering wing of Mayor Daley's Democratic Party machine.

Jeffery Haas, one of several young lawyers in the People's Law Collective, told *The Militant* in a recent inter-

view that he thinks the continuing Watergate revelations may enable supporters of Clark and Hampton to finally establish the whole truth about what happened.

Haas is one of the attorneys for a civil damage suit in federal court on behalf of the families of Mark Clark and Fred Hampton and those Panthers who survived the raid. The suit claims that Hanrahan and the police raiders violated the civil rights of their victims in the raid and by their subsequent cover-up.

Haas believes the Chicago raid was part of the FBI's COINTELPRO ("Counter Intelligence Program") plan, which called for FBI agents to "disrupt" and "otherwise neutralize" Black organizations.

The raid on Hampton's apartment occurred at a time of concerted government efforts to exterminate the Black Panther Party and terrorize the Black movement as a whole. The deaths of Clark and Hampton brought to 28 the number of Panthers killed in 1968 and 1969, and many more were wounded. During the first week of December 1969 alone there were two raids against the Panthers in Chicago, one in Los Angeles, and one in New Orleans.

In addition to these murderous raids, which resulted in further casualties, the Panthers faced major court cases in New York, New Haven, Chicago, De-

troit, Milwaukee, and other cities.

In the Hampton case, the federal grand jury found that approximately 99 shots had been fired by police into Hampton's apartment. One shot was "apparently" fired by someone inside the apartment.

In addition, the original coroner's report on Hampton said that an unusually heavy dose of seconal—a sleeping compound—had been present in his blood. This was denied in later coroner's reports, but Haas says that expert testimony can establish the fact that Hampton was drugged.

The evidence was so overwhelming that State's Attorney Hanrahan was compelled to drop all charges against those Panthers who had survived the raid. In true police style, he had hoped to frame them up on charges of attempted murder.

Even the *New York Times* had to admit in a May 18, 1970, editorial, "The evidence adds up to a flagrant case of police violence, followed by deliberate official distortions. Moreover, the Chicago police appeared to have taken the offensive with the advice and consent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, thus strengthening the suspicion of political persecution."

On Jan. 12, 1974, after extensive government foot-dragging, the plaintiffs in the suit were able to take a deposition from William O'Neal, an FBI informer in the Chicago Panthers when Hampton was killed. O'Neal's superior was FBI special agent Roy Mitchell, the head of the COINTELPRO program in Chicago.

The February 1974 *Up Against the Bench*, published by the Chicago chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, summarizes O'Neal's testimony:

"The deposition, five hours in length, answered some questions, but posed many more to be answered. O'Neal admitted to joining the Panthers in late 1968, at the 'request' of special F.B.I. agent Roy Martin Mitchell, who paid him 'about \$100 per week' for his information.

"He became Fred Hampton's body guard, and later the body guard of Bobby Rush. He became chief of security, in charge of defense, weapon care, and 'ferreting out' of informers. He reported frequently to F.B.I. agent Mitchell, and gave information which led to police and F.B.I. raids.

"He devised interrogation techniques including the building of a homemade electric chair to 'deter informants.' He was supplying information about the house at 2337 W. Monroe Street



Militant/Brian Shannon

HAMPTON: Attorney for his family believes his death was a part of FBI's COINTELPRO operation.

[Hampton's apartment] during the period just prior to the December 4th raid and was in the apartment, along with Fred Hampton, on the eve of the raid.

"The next day he called Mr. Mitchell, although he 'does not remember much of the conversation.'"

O'Neal also admitted in his deposition that he had stolen Panther membership lists and turned them over to the FBI.

Throughout the deposition, he denied any role in setting up the murderous Dec. 4 raid. But a March 22 *Chicago Tribune* article—yet to be refuted by the FBI—charges that the FBI, not Chicago authorities, initiated the plans for the raid, based on an alleged "arms cache" at the Hampton apartment.

"The federal government conceded in court earlier this month that the FBI had informed state's attorney's police there was a weapons cache in the Panther apartment at 2337 W. Monroe St.," reported the *Tribune*. "The information was gathered by William O'Neal. . . ."

In his deposition, O'Neal did admit to reporting the presence of weapons in Hampton's apartment. However, his version of the story raises even more questions about the true motives be-

*Continued on page 26*

## Black leaders press for inquiry

Demands by Black leaders are mounting across the country for a full investigation into government disruption and intelligence programs directed at the Black liberation movement, and for a new inquiry into the murders of Black leaders, such as Martin Luther King Jr.

Dr. Ralph Abernathy, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, told a group of Black students at Kansas State University recently that he does not believe James Earl Ray, the convicted assassin of Dr. King, acted alone.

"Maybe he fired the shot, but I think others were involved," he told the students. "I think it would be most revealing if he could go to trial and tell his story. I think people in higher places would be implicated."

In addition, Representative Ralph Metcalfe (D-Ill.) has called on Representative Don Edwards, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee's subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, to open a full investigation into FBI intelligence and sabotage programs both on a national level and in Chicago in particular.

Metcalfe said that the FBI's actions were a flagrant violation of the First, Fourth, and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution.

Edwards reportedly promised that his committee would investigate the FBI COINTELPRO operation, but said it would not be possible to set a date because of the Judiciary Committee's involvement in the inquiry into the impeachment of Nixon.

# House votes to keep witch-hunting committee

By DAVID RUSSELL

Following a debate marked by half-hearted protests from some congressional liberals and repeated references to the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst, the House of Representatives voted April 1 against cutting off appropriations to the House Internal Security Committee (HISC).

This red-baiting committee, the successor to the notorious House Un-American Activities Committee, is currently attempting to justify its violations of civil liberties by tarring all radicals with the charge of terrorism. Representative Benjamin Blackburn (R-Ga.), for example, pointed to a HISC "survey of Trotskyite terrorists and potential terrorists around the world," and indicated that "the committee is still working on hearings and reports on this subject."

Representative John Ashbrook (R-Ohio) promised his colleagues "a ma-

ior study on terrorism that will provide a wealth of new information to the Congress and the American people on the groups that are engaged in terrorist activity. . . ."

The value of the "information" gleaned by these congressional witch-hunters was indicated in 1971 when they tried to smear the two main coalitions in the antiwar movement at that time—the National Peace Action Coalition and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice—as "communist fronts."

Groups mentioned in the April 1 debate and charged with not meeting HISC standards of political purity included the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, the Black Panther Party, the United Prisoners Union, the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Students for a Democratic Society, the Revolutionary

Union, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation, and others.

Since not one of these groups has ever engaged in terrorist actions—although many have been the victim of such actions by police and government agents—the real concern of HISC is clearly political dissent.

Representative Robert Drinan (D-Mass.) charged that HISC maintains files on more than 750,000 people. It was freely admitted in the debate that these files are used by both government agencies and private corporations for screening job applicants.

Drinan stressed the close collaboration between the congressional witch-hunting apparatus and the executive branch, pointing out that "25 executive agencies of the federal government regularly, day after day, come in and gain access to the files of the

House Internal Security Committee."

Unfortunately, the liberal opponents of HISC accepted the basic premises for its existence. Drinan, for example, argued that "the investigation into the allegedly subversive groups that is carried on by this committee could and should be done by the Federal Bureau of Investigation or by other agencies."

Later in the debate, Drinan elaborated. "The FBI has extensive files, as they should, on the alleged subversive organization the gentleman mentioned [the Symbionese Liberation Army]. Obviously, we need this, but I think it is done in the wrong place."

In fact, the Watergate revelations have shown repeatedly that the real source of violence in the radical movement is police agents, and that the genuinely illegal and "subversive" activity is that of the FBI and agencies like it.



# Saxbe 'reviewing' att'y general's list

By LEO STANFORD

In the wake of the startling disclosures of government "counterintelligence" operations against radical groups, the debate over the attorney general's list of so-called subversive organizations is being renewed. The Watergate revelations have added new momentum to the efforts to have the witch-hunt blacklist abolished.

Last August, then attorney general Elliot Richardson sent up a trial balloon, saying he was "considering" abolishing the list. At that time, Justice Department officials observed that recent court rulings had severely restricted the use of the list.

However, Richardson's deliberations evidently continued right up to the time of his resignation following the "Saturday Night Massacre," and no action was taken.

Now the new attorney general, William Saxbe, has ordered the inquiry reopened into whether "there should be such a list." What Saxbe may be after, however, is not the abolition of the list, but rather its replacement with a more modern, streamlined version.

Of the nearly 300 organizations on the list, only a handful still exist, since the last additions were made in 1955. Both the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party are on the list.

In questioning whether the list as it stands is "realistic," Saxbe raised once again the specter of an international terrorist conspiracy. *New York Times* reporter Lesley Oelsner wrote from Washington April 3:

"The Attorney General described his perceptions of the shift from the McCarthy era to the present day during a news briefing in his conference room, saying that the 'worldwide trends are more towards terrorism' and that

'we're dealing with a different type of person.'"

The previous day, Saxbe had charged that the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst by the Symbionese Liberation Army was part of a "worldwide conspiracy":

"When you think the Symbionese and the others are taking this right out of some Maoist doctrinal textbooks on how to operate in terrorism and other forms of civil disturbances, you realize it is not just a coincidental thing," the attorney general grimly observed.

When asked for "evidence" of the international plot, Saxbe slyly said he "had evidence that such a conspiracy existed but said he could not discuss it further," according to an Associated Press dispatch. No "evidence" has yet been produced.

Evidence or not, the rulers are determined to try to use the Hearst kidnapping as a pretext to ward off the attempts to end unconstitutional secret police operations. The attorney general's list is an important weapon in their arsenal.

Originally established by Democratic president Harry Truman in 1947, the list was one of the initial moves toward the attempts at thought-control that became known as McCarthyism. The stated purpose of the list was to keep "subversives" out of allegedly sensitive government jobs. In reality, the list was rapidly expanded to bar from any federal employment members of listed organizations.

In addition, the list was soon adopted by state governments and many corporations as an official black list.

The list has aroused opposition from civil libertarians and other defenders of democratic rights. The organiza-



KELLEY: Claims 'subversive' list is not used.

tions on the list were placed there without a hearing. They never had the chance to defend themselves against the "subversive" smear, or even to find out the basis for the charges against them. Once on the list, there is no mechanism for review.

However, even if an organization could get a hearing, the government is not obliged to follow any rules for defining "subversives," or in any way prove the charges against the black-listed groups.

Inclusion on the "subversive" list has been used by the government to justify its campaign of disruption and illegal harassment, sabotage, and surveillance against organizations like the Socialist Workers Party. The government's credo has become "anything goes against the subversives."

However, not everyone in the Nixon administration is as blunt as Saxbe about the "subversive" list. FBI director Clarence Kelley, for example, pretended to be unaware of the continued

use of the list when he was asked to comment on Saxbe's statement about updating it.

According to the April 3 dispatch by *Times* reporter Oelsner, Kelley, when asked about "his views as to what should be done with the list, replied that 'the subversive list has been abolished, of course, has not been continued.'"

Chief Gumshoe Kelley, of course, knows that the list is very much in use. His FBI is relying heavily on the branding of the SWP as "subversive" to justify its admitted "Disruption Program" against the SWP.

In fact, in the government's answer to the complaint filed by the SWP and the YSA in their Watergate suit, government lawyers repeatedly referred to the attorney general's list as the basis for FBI actions.

In its reply to the socialists' charges of illegal surveillance and harassment, the government admitted that "members of organizations designated by the Attorney General . . . are subject to loyalty and security provisions imposed by law, executive orders and regulations pertaining thereto."

In addition, in a Jan. 11, 1973, memo from then-FBI boss L. Patrick Gray to the U.S. Post Office requesting a mail cover on the national offices of the SWP, Gray cited the attorney general's list as part of the justification for spying on mail addressed to the SWP.

The socialists' Watergate suit against Nixon and other government officials, including the attorney general, is the most far-reaching and serious challenge yet brought against the existence and use of the "subversive" list. If the suit is successful, the list will be relegated to the trash heap, where it belongs.

## God helps those who help themselves...

By LINDA JENNESS

There are no two ways about it—Richard Nixon is a crook. First he steals enough money from the American working people to become a millionaire, then he cheats on his income tax.

The Internal Revenue Service, which less than a year ago complimented Nixon on "the care shown in the preparation" of his tax returns, now agrees that he owes \$465,000 in back taxes and interest—much more money than the average person makes in a lifetime.

Some of the deductions were: A \$2,000 terrazzo tile shuffleboard court at the Nixon mansion in Key Biscayne. \$5,391 for "Miss Tricia Nixon's masked ball." A \$388 exhaust fan in the San Clemente fireplace to help it "draw right."

Another deduction was \$1,706 to repair a squeaking door, lights, and other items because "during the dinner party for the Hopes, Fords, and Arnold Palmer, the swinging door squeaked between the dining room and the pantry. Also, the light in the pantry was so bright it destroyed the candlelight atmosphere."

Who paid for all that, and more? We did! The people who work for a living. The people who worry about making ends meet from week to week. The people whose apartments are cold, electricity bills and rents outrageous, and who agonize over the cost of meat and eggs and gas.

We paid \$17-million just in improvements for the presidential palaces. This is the estimated amount



THE NIXONS & IRS: The tax man cometh.

spent by the government so far for Nixon's "personal security." If that's not robbery, then the word has lost its meaning.

Scrooge looks generous compared to this petty miser. One maid who worked for the Nixons at San Clemente for three months was paid a grand total of \$550—or \$183 a month. Nixon failed to pay his share of the maid's Social Security tax, and then deducted 25 percent of her salary on his income tax return!

The notorious \$576,000 tax deduction Nixon took on the gift of his vice-presidential papers to the National Archives was a total fraud. The papers were turned in after Congress

passed a law against such tax deductions, and on top of that the papers are just junk.

An inventory of the gift shows that among the papers are "thousands of newspaper clippings and some unclipped newspapers; 229 boxes of invitations to Mr. Nixon to attend social events or to give speeches, along with carbons of his replies, mostly 'turn-downs'; and thousands of items of correspondence, some with public figures but also such items as letters from children."

Now King Richard is making a big ballyhoo about the fact that he has agreed to pay the \$465,000 he owes.

The *Wall Street Journal*, in an at-

tempt to drum up some sympathy for Nixon, tries to portray him as just another citizen faced with income tax problems. "Like plenty of other taxpayers dunned for more dough by the Internal Revenue Service," says the *Journal*, "President Nixon probably will borrow part of the money to pay his back taxes."

Unlike other taxpayers, however, Nixon can get money at the snap of a finger from one of his many super-rich buddies. Already millionaire W. Clement Stone, who contributed several million dollars to Nixon's election campaigns, has suggested that a fund-raising campaign for Nixon might be in order.

"That the man is able to sleep at night amazes me," one woman told the *New York Post*, "I think he's got a lot of nerve." As one man walked out of the IRS office he told the *Post*, "If I should pay, he should pay."

That's how about 80 million Americans are going to feel this week as they send approximately \$120-billion to the Treasury in income taxes. And for what? So \$100-billion can be used to buy deadly new weapons and to prop up dictators like Generals Thieu, Pinochet, and Franco? So millions can be spent on "law enforcement" to finance FBI frame-up trials and "Disruption Programs" against Black and socialist groups? So hundreds of thousands can be used for Nixon's lawyers and to pamper him and his royal family?

It's the working people who pay the taxes, and not a cent is spent to do us any good.



# Problems confronting Farm Workers

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—In return for formal endorsement of the boycott of table grapes and iceberg lettuce, the top officials of the AFL-CIO have required the United Farm Workers to end its secondary boycott of Safeway and other supermarket chains that carry the scab products.

The present situation of the embattled Farm Workers is a critical one, and it remains to be seen how much genuine support it will receive from George Meany and the AFL-CIO officialdom.

From the outset, the UFW has considered the secondary boycott a key weapon in its struggle to force the growers to scrap their phony sweetheart contracts with the Teamsters and sign legitimate ones with the Farm Workers.

According to the terms of the agreement with the AFL-CIO officials, announced April 8, the UFW can continue picketing stores carrying scab grapes and lettuce urging people not to buy these products. But it will no longer ask people not to shop in stores that persist in selling them.

In return, the AFL-CIO officials said their affiliated unions will support the boycott of grapes and lettuce.

The UFW is also conducting a boycott of Gallo and Franzia wines. Both companies last year refused to renew their UFW pacts with workers in their grape fields, signing sweetheart pacts with the Teamsters instead.

The UFW will continue its boycott of scab wines, but will not have the support of the AFL-CIO on this. Objection to such support was registered

by the officials of the Distillery Workers and the Glass Blowers, both AFL-CIO affiliates with contracts covering inside workers at Gallo and Franzia.

In announcing endorsement of the grape and lettuce boycott Meany made no mention of desperately needed financial aid to the Farm Workers. The UFW is unable to provide strike benefits for workers who have now begun picketing activity in the Coachella Valley, where harvesting is about to begin.

## Safeway and A&P

In light of this new development, it is important to review the past year of UFW strike and boycott activity and consider what steps can be taken to advance the struggle.

Safeway and A&P were selected as boycott targets a year ago when the union's contracts with the California grape industry expired and the growers signed sweetheart pacts with the Teamsters.

The two supermarket chains are the nation's biggest buyers of scab grapes and lettuce. In some cities, such as Detroit and Cleveland, where other chains predominate, they were selected as the alternate targets of a secondary boycott.

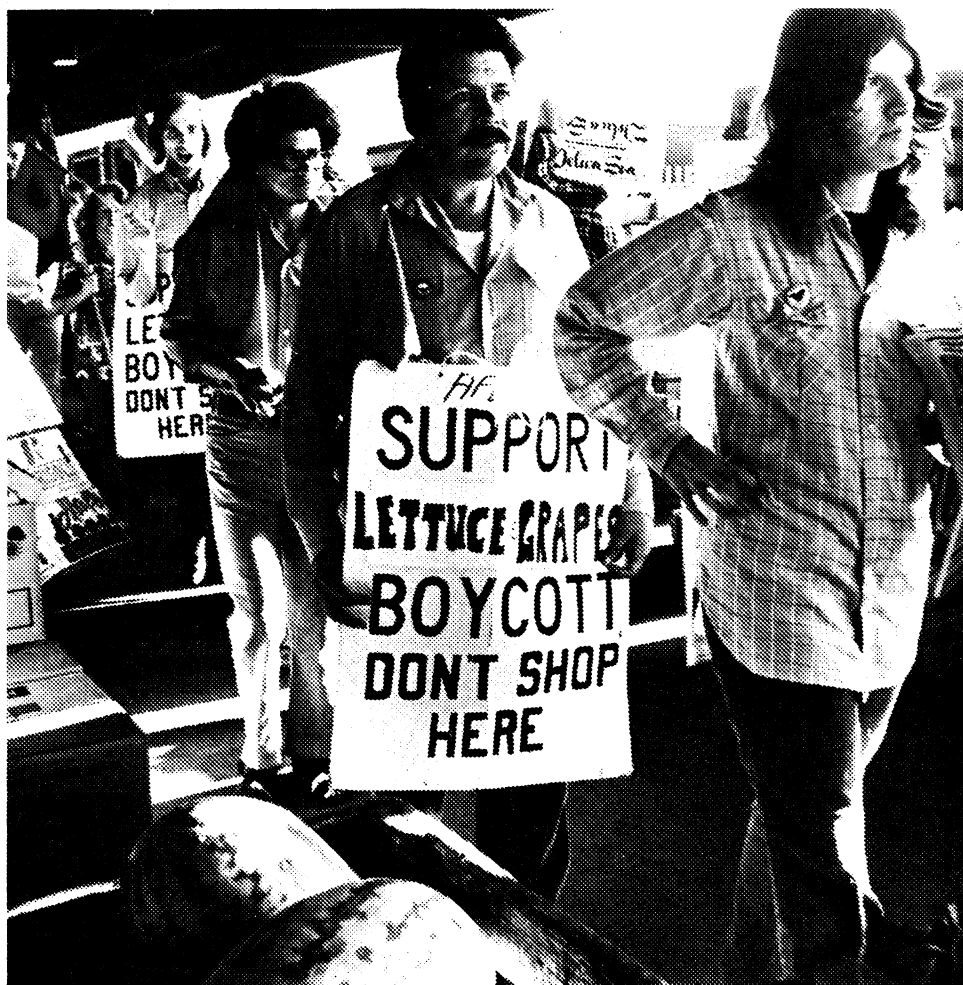
(During the late 1960s the UFW promoted a nationwide boycott of grapes that proved sufficiently effective to compel the growers to sign union contracts. But in 1973 with the concerted effort of the growers and Teamsters to break the union, it was recognized that a stronger counterattack was required. Instead of simply asking people not to buy scab grapes and lettuce,

picketers asked customers to boycott A&P, Safeway, and other markets that insisted on selling scab produce.)

When the UFW began strike activities in the Coachella Valley last April, the AFL-CIO executive council con-

tributed \$1.6-million to the union and pledged more would be forthcoming.

Buoyed by that demonstration of support, the union applied for official AFL-CIO sanction of the boycott of grapes, lettuce, and Gallo wines as



UFW has dropped secondary boycott of supermarkets in exchange for Meany sanction of grape and lettuce boycott. To defeat growers, Farm Workers need strategy of massive boycott campaign surpassing previous efforts.

## Teamster-grower conspiracy confirmed

LOS ANGELES—A lengthy article in the March 29 *Los Angeles Times* confirms that the Teamsters union officialdom has been engaged in a conspiracy with California growers to destroy the United Farm Workers and that the contracts signed between the growers and Teamsters were fraudulent.

Written by the *Times* labor writer, Harry Bernstein, the article is based on interviews with Teamster officials including, apparently, the union's president, Frank Fitzsimmons. The Teamster officials told Bernstein they are now launching an organizing drive among farm workers. This is a particularly damning admission since the Teamsters have held contracts with most of the state's grape ranchers for a year and some lettuce contracts even longer.

The announced Teamster organizing drive, Bernstein states, "is in contrast to past Teamster efforts, which were concentrated almost entirely on getting contracts with growers, not on winning any support among farm workers themselves. . . .

"For several years," Bernstein continues, "the Teamsters did almost nothing to contact workers. They met secretly with growers and signed contracts covering farm workers who had never even seen a Teamster representative."

Now Bernstein reports, the Teamsters have opened offices in the various agricultural centers of the state and are operating what they describe as a "large scale organization" costing "at least \$100,000 a month."

A budget of \$100,000 a month would be chicken feed for a serious organizing drive, particularly for a union whose staffers do so well on

salary and expenses.

Moreover, the "organizing" effort includes a staff of "public relations experts [who] have been hired to help improve the Teamster 'image' as the bad guys in the battle. . . ."

And, more clearly indicative of the real nature of the "organizing drive":

"Teams of Teamster representatives are flying to major cities around the nation to counter the huge boycott effort of the UFWA against grape and lettuce growers who have signed with the Teamsters."

However, some Teamster staffers have apparently been out in the fields "signing up" some workers.

William Grami, who heads the anti-

Teamster drive, told Bernstein the Teamsters now have 308 contracts with growers covering about 50,000 workers in the peak season.

Apparently the Teamster brass would like to expand the number of sweetheart agreements it now holds. Another union official told Bernstein, "We've just sent out letters to 53 more growers telling them their workers have signed union authorization cards and want us as their bargaining agent."

The Teamster participation in the union-busting conspiracy with the growers is not without material considerations. Although the workers who find themselves "members" of the Teamsters have no voice in the union and derive no benefits from the sweetheart contracts, they are milked out of \$8 a month dues withheld by the ranchers through the checkoff system. According to Grami, that dues ripoff has already totaled "about \$1-million" for the Teamsters.

While there is no evidence of any serious intent on the part of the Teamster officials to conduct a genuine organizing drive among farm workers, it is possible they feel that the growers may need a bit of pressure to maintain their anti-UFW alliance. It is not precluded that the growers may feel they have the UFW on the ropes and that the Teamsters are now dispensable.

A small straw in the wind suggesting this possibility was the recent rigged election staged at the K. K. Larson grape ranch in Coachella.

Larson is one of the two growers in the area who had renewed their contracts with the UFW when they expired last April. Now, as the present UFW contract neared expiration, Larson an-

nounced his workers had voted that they didn't want any union. (The "election" was held without observers and under the supervision of an Anglo priest with a record of public opposition to the UFW.)

It remains to be seen if Larson will now sign a sweetheart contract with the Teamsters as the other grape growers did when they broke off with the UFW. If he doesn't sign with the Teamsters it could be a portent of the future.

Meanwhile, the signs are that Teamster bureaucrats intend to maintain their cozy relationship with the growers.

The seriousness of their "organizing drive" is indicated by their nominee for "chief supervisor" of that effort.

Before becoming a "chief supervisor" for the Teamsters, Cono Macias held the same title as a stooge for the Bianco Corporation, one of the grape growers who fought the UFW organizing drive. When Bianco went out of business, Macias continued his anti-UFW activity by taking a job with the Teamsters.

According to Bernstein, Macias sees nothing inconsistent about switching from his role as a top management supervisor to a top Teamster official.

"We're all trying to come up, to advance. What's wrong with advancing?" Macias asked.

Discussing his opposition to the UFW, Macias, a Mexican-American, said: "I'm not bragging about my nationality, but we are a very respectful, obedient people. Now it seems like our young generation has sort of lost that respect. . . ."

That could well be the Teamster "organizing" slogan: Keep them obedient and respectful.

—H. R.



Teamster goons in Coachella Valley last summer.

# boycott movement

well as the secondary boycott of Safeway and A&P.

But by then, Meany and his cohorts were having second thoughts; the pledge to renew financial support to the strike was reneged on, and sanction for the boycott was withheld. Meanwhile, false hopes were raised in the UFW and among many supporters that Meany and Teamster chief Frank Fitzsimmons would negotiate a deal that would recognize the UFW's right to organize the field workers.

## AFL-CIO subcommittee

At the AFL-CIO convention last fall, a subcommittee was selected to consider the UFW request for a boycott sanction. Included on the committee were officials of the Retail Clerks, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, the Distillery Workers, and the Glass Blowers.

If the elementary principles of labor solidarity were comprehensible to these bureaucrats, they would mobilize the ranks of their unions to refuse to make wine from scab grapes or help market grapes and lettuce that have the blood of striking farm workers on them. Instead they have advanced the narrow, "self-interest" claim that the UFW boycott activity is costing their members jobs.

The Retail Clerks and Meat Cutters officialdom in Cleveland went so far as to make a shameless public attack on the UFW strikers.

What the Clerks and Meat Cutters officials are really concerned with is their relationship with the Teamster bureaucrats, whom they rely on to respect their picket lines when they go on strike.

Obviously with Meany's assent, these forces in the AFL-CIO blocked sanction for the secondary boycott.

While the recently announced AFL-CIO sanction for the grape and lettuce boycotts could help in gaining active support from unions, there is no indication that Meany and his associates will undertake the kind of boycott drive the situation demands. The AFL-CIO top brass has little stomach for taking on the powerful California agribusiness forces, their allies in the Democratic and Republican parties, and their Teamster hirelings.

## Boycott movement

For some months now, the boycott movement has foundered. A clear perspective for a massive boycott campaign has not been projected by the UFW leadership.

In California, boycott leaders decided some time ago to give up the Safeway boycott and concentrate instead on support to the Gallo boycott, focusing particularly on the Save-on drug chain, a major purchaser of the scab wine.

While this helped the several hundred Gallo strikers, it necessarily eased the pressure on the grape ranchers in a state that is one of their major markets.

In other areas, boycott targets often became obscured and activity diffused. The lack of a clear, consistent perspective led to a certain amount of demoralization and decline in activity among boycott supporters in a number of major cities. Several areas, such as Boston, Cleveland, and Detroit, report stepped-up activity in recent weeks, but unfortunately these are not the norm.

In the face of every adversity, the farm workers have displayed an inspiring capacity for tenacious struggle. That tenacity is certainly needed more than ever in this difficult period. Equally important if the UFW is to



Farm workers and supporters in Delano, Calif., last July. Key to UFW's survival will be mobilizing support from Chicano community.

survive and achieve its goals is a carefully thought-out, realistic program to mobilize the kind of broad public support that is indispensable for victory.

The Meany's in the labor movement must not be permitted to set the tone and scope for the grape and lettuce boycott. Resolutions and formal declarations of support are necessary, but they are not sufficient. Millions of Americans must be persuaded not to buy the scab products. That can be accomplished only if there is a massive, visible presence of the boycott movement.

## Mass actions needed

Even without the secondary boycott, the UFW should not give up picketing the markets. If anything, even larger concentrations of pickets at selected stores are needed. The more the public sees massive demonstrations of Farm Workers and their supporters with placards and leaflets urging them not to buy scab grapes, lettuce, and wine, the greater the impact will be.

The boycott movement should certainly also utilize declarations of support by Democratic and Republican politicians who see political capital in support to the Farm Workers. But the record demonstrates that such "friends" cannot be relied on to play any decisive role in the fight.

The failure of Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) and others like him to use their public office as a forum to seriously publicize and promote the boycott is evidence of this.

Perhaps even more indicative of the tenuous character of their "friendship" for the farm workers is the failure of these capitalist politicians to seek to amend the National Labor Relations Act. Farm workers are excluded from coverage by the act, which pro-

vides for secret ballot elections and certification of the union chosen by workers in such elections.

The UFW has called for inclusion of farm workers under the act, but with the proviso that they not be subject to prohibition of secondary boycotts as the law now provides.

None of the congressional "friends" of the farm workers have made any serious effort to win such an amendment to the Labor Relations Act. (There is a certain political consistency here since it was the Democratic administration of Franklin Roosevelt that made the original deal with agribusiness interests—including the Dixiecrat wing of his party—to exclude field hands from protection under the act.)

While the farm workers have an army of reactionary forces lined up against them, from the growers and the Teamster bureaucrats to the Reagan and Nixon administrations, they have a powerful reservoir of support that can prove decisive if it is fully mobilized.

There is today widespread knowledge of the superexploitation of farm workers. This is true among unionists, church and community groups, and particularly among students and the broad layer of radicalized youth.

Perhaps the deepest potential for support to the farm workers' cause—one that has never been really tapped—is among the Chicano people. They know that the majority of farm workers are their people and that they are not only suffering exploitation as workers but racial oppression as Chicanos, and this deepens the sense of solidarity. A well-planned campaign in the barrios of California and throughout the Southwest could mobilize a force that could be the battering ram for the entire movement.

# Viva la Causa!

**CLEVELAND FARM WORKER RALLY:** Chanting, "Boycott lettuce, boycott grapes, boycott wine, that Gallo makes!" an estimated 1,500 people marched from Cleveland's west side to Public Square in support of the United Farm Workers April 6. Led by Farm Workers President Cesar Chavez, the demonstrators came from cities across Ohio and included contingents from several Cleveland unions.

The rally was chaired by Eliseo Medina, member of the international executive board of the UFW. Speakers included John Yates, president of the Community Action Program of the United Auto Workers; George Lagy, international vice-president of the United Transportation Union; Monsignor George Higgins of the Catholic Bishops Council; and Cesar Chavez.

**CHICAGO UFW SUPPORTERS ARRESTED:** In an attempt to intimidate United Farm Workers' supporters in Chicago, 10 picketers for the union were arrested March 30 while picketing a Jewel Food store there.

UFW supporters have been picketing this Jewel store, at Central Parkway and Division, for months. Recently, the UFW in Chicago had been experimenting with large picket lines every week at one store. Previously, it had organized small pickets of four or five people at many stores.

As a result of this new approach, the Farm Workers' supporters were able to turn away scores of shoppers. The March 30 picket line drew more than 50 UFW supporters and virtually closed down the store. It was because of the effectiveness of this new tactic that the Jewel manager called in the cops.

The UFW responded with another picket line at the same Jewel the next week, which drew more than 100 supporters. This picket actually closed down the store.

Among those arrested were three UFW organizers, two striking Farm Workers, and a member of the Young Socialist Alliance.

**TEMPE, ARIZ., PICKETS:** In an effort to strengthen the Gallo boycott, a picket line was held at a liquor and grocery store across from Arizona State University in Tempe March 29. Many of the 70 picketers were Chicano law students who were attending the National Chicano Law Students Association meeting at ASU. The conference had unanimously agreed to aid the United Farm Workers by participating in the picket line.

Two days earlier, a rally of 80 was held on the ASU campus. Speakers at the rally included Gus Gutierrez, founder of the UFW in Arizona; Chicano members of Construction Laborers Local 383; and Steve Shliveck of the Young Socialist Alliance.

## VIVA LA HUELGA! The Struggle of the Farm Workers

By Jose G. Perez

25 cents

Pathfinder Press, 410 West St.,  
New York, N.Y. 10014



## Labor delegates hear socialist

# 'Republicrats don't speak for workers'

The following is a slightly abridged transcript of remarks made by Ed Heisler, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois, before the March 27 meeting of the Twin Cities Labor Federation (Champaign-Urbana, Ill.).

Heisler was invited to address the federation along with his Democratic opponent Adlai Stevenson III. Stevenson said he would "try" to speak before the council sometime during his campaign. The federation is composed of one delegate from each of the AFL-CIO affiliates in Champaign County. Twenty delegates attended the meeting addressed by Heisler.

Heisler is a railroad worker, and was a leader of the Right to Vote Committee in the United Transportation Union. The committee was a rank-and-file movement that fought for the

"friend" of ours. That's why he proposed a few years ago enacting legislation that would prohibit strikes by me and my co-workers in the railroad industry.

Well, let me tell you something, he's no "friend" of mine! In fact, I jotted his name down on my labor "enemies list."

Tell me, brothers and sisters, if Adlai Stevenson is such a "friend" of ours why didn't he utter a word in support of the striking truckers last month? Did he lose his voice from giving so many prolabor speeches during this election, or was he too tired or perhaps too busy to concern himself with the problems of truckers, or was he perhaps against their strike? I think he was against that strike.

The mass media, which is owned and controlled by big business, carried on a hysterical campaign against that strike. The radio-TV stations and the daily press ran editorial after editorial denouncing the truckers as a bunch of crazy, bloodthirsty goons bent on violence who had to be crushed. What "friend of labor" in Congress defended and supported their strike?

### No voice of workers

I'll tell you who. No one! Not one of "labor's friends" spoke up in Congress in defense of the drivers and their demands, because labor has no voice in Congress. Not any true voice. No, the truckers did not have a single voice in Congress to speak out loud and clear for them, nor do any working people in this country.

As I said earlier, the labor movement has tremendous economic and political power, but it has been contained by labor's coalition with the Democratic Party. Labor can and must break those chains by organizing a new political party based on the trade unions.

Labor's candidates for office wouldn't lie like the Democratic and Republican party candidates by claiming to represent all of the people. The Democrats and Republicans don't represent all of the people or even a majority of the people. They represent a tiny minority — the employers.

### Not 'all the people'

The candidates of a labor party would say, "We will not and cannot represent all of the people; that is impossible. But we will represent, fight for, and promote the interests of the immense majority of people — the working class and our allies." A labor party would champion the cause of all the oppressed.

The formation of a labor party would represent a giant step in the direction of forming a government that is really of, by, and for the people, a workers government.

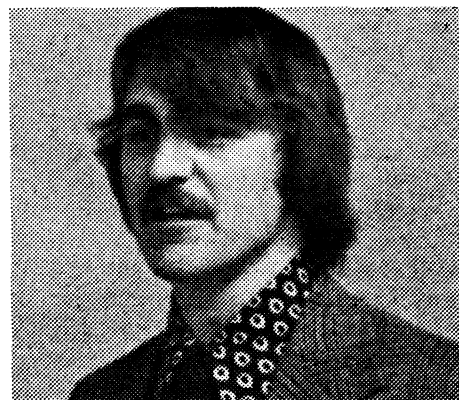
But we need to do something else also. As victims of this profit system, we must take control of the economy. Look at the phony energy crisis. It has been contrived by the oil trusts in order to increase their profits and control over the market at our expense.

Let's find out the true facts about this alleged shortage. The labor movement should demand that the oil companies open their books to inspection by representatives of unions, community organizations, and ecology groups. No business secrets!

We should also demand that the oil trusts be nationalized. I'm not talking about nationalizing them and placing them under the control of



Democratic senatorial candidate Adlai Stevenson (left), and Socialist Workers Party opponent Ed Heisler.

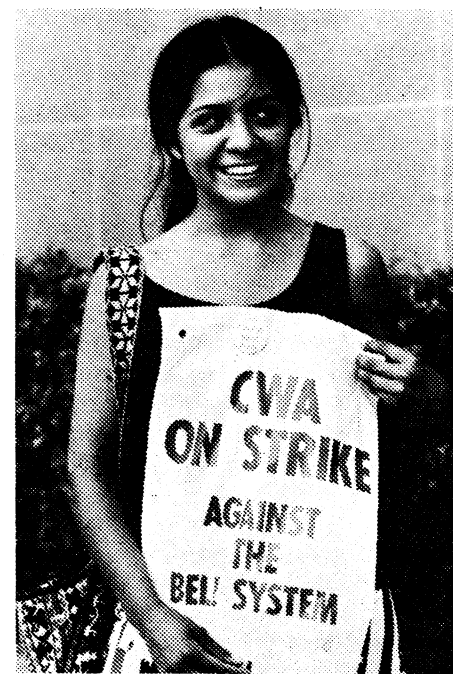


Militant/Cassandra Dowden

Richard Nixon. The oil trusts control Nixon! They should be nationalized and placed under the direct management and control of oil industry workers.

To hell with the oil trusts! We don't need them. They stand in the way of economic and social progress and so do all of the profit-hungry corporations in this country. Nationalize all of them! Let's run and plan the economy for the benefit of the people rather than a handful of millionaires.

This year the Socialist Workers Party will be conducting the biggest socialist election campaign in Illinois in many years. During the recent truckers' strike one of the striking drivers said, "We have the power to shut this country down." Our message to the workers of Illinois and the other states where we are fielding candidates



Militant/Walter Lippmann

Organization of women workers would increase both economic and political strength of labor movement.

is: You have the power to shut it down, and you have the power to take it over.

**Question:** What do you mean by socialism, since this has developed a bad stigma?

**Answer:** By socialism I mean majority rule. We believe the minority rule of big business interests should be replaced by the majority rule of the workers. That would mean real democracy in this country, and that's what we socialists stand for.

**Q:** Since the organized labor movement only includes about 20 million out of 87 million workers, how can the unions represent the majority of working people?

**A:** The labor movement must organize the 67 million workers who are

not yet unionized. The biggest example of this neglect on the part of labor has been working women. Only about 10 percent of the more than 30 million women workers are organized into unions.

**Q:** How many of the married women who work are working to support their families?

**A:** I don't have any exact statistics, but I think it is the great majority. Because of the tremendous inflation more and more married women are working in order to put meat on the table. I know a number of married men on the railroad whose wives have had to find work in order to keep up house payments, car payments, and other living expenses.

**Q:** I wonder if the answer to our problems is organizing the married women who work or improving the wagescale of men.

**A:** The successful organization of working women would be a big boost to men who work for a living. The employers have utilized the low wages paid to women as a tool to also keep the wages of men down.

You know the employers have always tried to divide the working class, men against women, young against old, and white against Black. The labor movement should champion the cause of all people who are put down in this society, such as Blacks, Latins, women, and the students.

**Q:** Assuming that it would take some time to organize a labor party, what could an isolated individual outside the Democratic Party do in Congress?

**A:** I think a labor party would elect many representatives to Congress, not just one or two individuals. It could become the majority party very quickly because it would speak for the immense majority of people in this country.

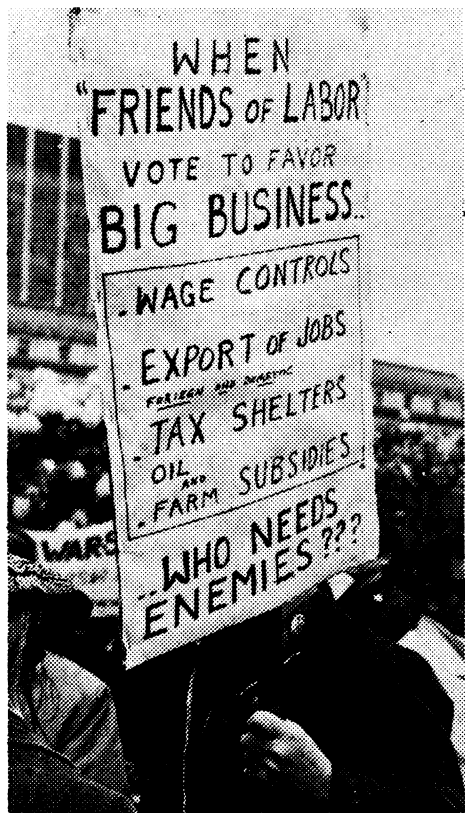
The Democrats and Republicans might merge into one party. They could call themselves the Republicrats. They are basically one party now, but that would make it official. I think the idea of forming a labor party will be discussed by many trade unionists in the next few years as it becomes clearer that we have basically a one-party system, since the Democrats and Republicans represent the same corporate interests.

**Q:** Are you familiar with this paper, AFL-CIO News?

**A:** Of course.

**Q:** Well, bull to the fact that we don't have any friends in Congress. According to COPE (Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO) rec-

Continued on page 26



Militant/Howard Petrick

'Democrats and Republicans are really one party—they should call themselves the Republicrats.'

right of union members to vote on contracts.

After Heisler's initial remarks are questions from the delegates and his answers, with omissions for space reasons.

The employers have declared war on the living standards of the American working class. They are trying to reduce our living standards, and the ruling rich are making headway in their antilabor drive.

We have the potential economic and political power to defeat that attack, but our hands have been tied behind our backs. How? The present union leadership has relied on the Democratic and Republican party politicians to solve our problems.

But the problems of workers can only be solved by workers. Since the Democratic and Republican parties are fundamentally controlled by big business interests we can't rely on them for anything. They are part of the problem, not the solution.

Now I know my opponent Adlai Stevenson and other Democrats claim to be very dear "friends" of the labor movement. Is that why Stevenson and our other "friends" voted in favor of legislation permitting Nixon to hold down the wages of working people by setting up the wage control board? Yes, Stevenson certainly is a great

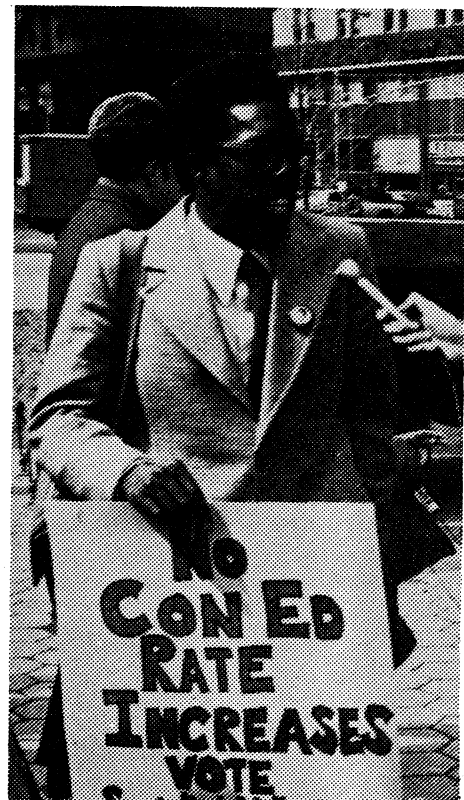


# New York SWP protests Con Ed rate increases, exposes profiteering

By JANICE LYNN

NEW YORK—Two hundred angry protesters marched on city hall April 1 to demonstrate against Con Edison rate hikes. Public outrage has been building here as New Yorkers see their gas and electric bills going up by leaps and bounds.

The Socialist Workers Party has



Militant/Janice Lynn

Socialist gubernatorial candidate Derrick Morrison at city hall rally against Con Edison's price-gouging.

been actively supporting these protests. Derrick Morrison, SWP candidate for governor, addressed the demonstrators at the city hall rally.

Morrison called for the trade unions, Black and Puerto Rican community groups, and consumer organizations to inspect the books of Con Ed to reveal the truth about Con Ed's profits. Morrison's call for the utility company to be nationalized and run under workers control met with applause from the protesters.

Bronx Borough President Robert Abrams, who is seeking the Democratic nomination for attorney general, and the other capitalist politicians who spoke at the rally, said the legislature was working on solving the problems.

Morrison declared, "We must rely on our own power and not the promises of politicians to prevent further Con Ed rate increases. We must continue building protests to show Con Ed we have had enough!"

Con Ed has filed a request for a 29.3 percent (or \$426.6-million) rate increase. It has already received a 13.8 percent increase. Con Ed contends all these increases still will not be enough to gain the revenues it says it must have.

In addition, a 6.7 percent surcharge, a "conservation adjustment," has been added because the utility contends it is losing money since customers started heeding its request to use less electricity.

Far from losing money, Con Ed enjoyed \$207-million in profits in

1973, according to a report filed with the Public Service Commission. Much of Con Ed's profit goes to pay interest on debts to large banks. The same people who own and control Con Ed are also sitting on the boards of directors of these major banks.

New Yorkers are already paying the highest electric bills in the country, and for that matter, the highest in history. According to Con Ed's own figures, over the past three years, the average monthly bill rose 88.4 percent (from \$10.95 a month in 1971 to \$20.63 at present).

On March 19, SWP senatorial candidate Rebecca Finch testified before the Public Service Commission. Finch blasted both the PSC and Con Ed for their continuing effort to unload the burden of the energy crisis upon the backs of working people.

At the hearing 60 protesters with banners and signs took over for an hour and demanded that the news media be allowed in. The PSC repeatedly denied the request.

That evening Finch joined 1,000 residents of Howard Beach, Queens, at a protest rally against Con Ed rate increases. Similar rallies were held in Westchester, Staten Island, and Long Island, where many residents of all-electric houses have been receiving monthly electric bills of \$200 to \$300.

At one of these protests, when a Con Ed official tried to blame the Arab oil embargo for the rising electric bills, he was loudly booed.

Many of these residents have vowed

Continued on page 26

# Socialist defends struggle of NY transit workers

NEW YORK—James Mendieta, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor of New York, is a member of Transport Workers Union Local 100, which represents 35,000 bus and subway workers in New York City.

On March 24 a spirited meeting of 4,000 TWU members voted to strike the city's subways and buses if a contract was not signed by April 1. Mendieta and other campaign supporters distributed a statement at the meeting. It said in part:

"To my fellow workers: I support the demands of our union for wage increases and a cost-of-living escalator clause. I, and the other socialist candidates, call for all wages to rise automatically with each rise in the cost of living; for the unconditional right to strike; and for abolishing the state's Taylor Law [which bars strikes of public employees].

"The real root of the transit problem in New York is the robbery of millions in tax and fare dollars by the profiteering financial institutions that collect the interest from public bonds—not the wages of transit workers!"

Mendieta also called for:

- Open the books of the Metropolitan Transit Authority for public examination to determine who actually profits from tolls and subway fares.

- Public ownership of all transit facilities, to be controlled by the workers who run them and the riders who use them.

- Corporations—not working people—to be taxed to guarantee free, adequate mass transit.

- Eliminate Nixon's \$100-billion war budget and spend this money for sorely needed social services such as the building of modern, efficient mass transit.

On March 31, the eve of the strike deadline, the TWU leadership announced agreement on a new two-year contract. It includes a cost-of-living escalator clause, the first for a major public employees union in the New York area. This demand had been repeatedly stressed by union members.

Following the TWU settlement, leaders of other municipal unions have indicated that cost-of-living escalator clauses would also be a primary demand of their unions.

The TWU also won a 6 percent wage increase effective immediately and 3 percent more on Dec. 1.

The Metropolitan Transit Authority has tried to claim that wage increases would force a raise in the 35-cent fare.

Mendieta declared, "The transit workers are against any fare increase. Any additional fare means a cut in all our wages.

"Actually, any fare is unfair," said the SWP candidate.

— J. L.



James Mendieta

## Campaigning for socialism

**VAN DEUSEN ADDRESSES NSA CONFERENCE:** Jane Van Deusen, SWP candidate for governor of Minnesota, was the keynote speaker at the opening session of the North Central Area Convention of the National Student Association, held March 28 at the University of Minnesota.

Fifty student government leaders heard Van Deusen hail the role of the student movement in the U. S. and around the world. Afterward, several student government representatives arranged for Van Deusen to speak at their campuses.

Earlier in March, Van Deusen appeared at a public hearing at the Minnesota legislature to condemn a bill prohibiting most abortions in the second half of pregnancy except to preserve the life or health of the woman. She called the bill "a giant step backward," forcing many Minnesota women to seek illegal abortions or travel out of state.

The bill has since been passed and signed by Governor Wendell Anderson, a Democrat. If he seeks reelection as expected, Anderson will be one of Van Deusen's opponents in the fall election.

**WOMEN IN POLITICS:** A column by Chuck Stone in the March 13 Philadelphia Daily News begins: "You've come a long way, baby," may hold true for the liberated woman's right to inhale a cancer-producing weed.

"But it's questionable whether women have come far enough to cure that intractable disease of politics—male chauvinism.

"At least as far as governorships

are concerned. This year, only six women are running for governor in 35 gubernatorial races."

Stone lists the women candidates as Democrats Ella Grasso in Connecticut, Betty Roberts in Oregon, and Frances Parnthold in Texas; Republican Louise Gore in Maryland; and Socialist Workers Party candidates Nancy Brown in Ohio and Roberta Scherr in Pennsylvania.

Stone miscounted. The SWP is also running women candidates for governor in five other states: Olga Rodriguez in California, Nora Danielson in Colorado, Jane Van Deusen in Minnesota, Stacey Seigle in Oregon, and Sherry Smith in Texas.

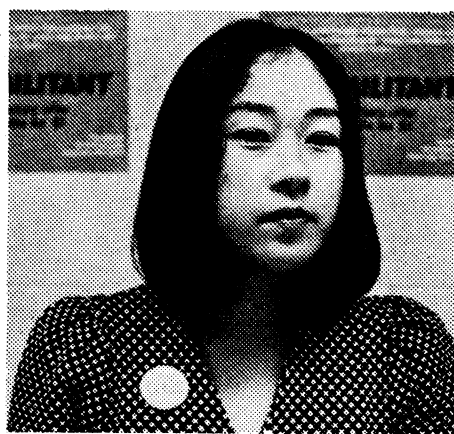
Unless Stone also left out some capitalist party candidates, that means more women are running for governor as socialists than as Democrats or Republicans.

Stone also neglects to mention that only the socialists have a platform that supports the liberation of women, while the three women running as Democrats, whom he apparently supports, remain tied to the system that profits from sexist oppression.

**DEMOCRATS DODGE DEBATE WITH SWP CANDIDATE:** Lea Tammi and Tony Austin, SWP congressional candidates in Philadelphia, attended a Democratic Party meeting April 2 in the 27th ward, near the University of Pennsylvania.

Speaking at the meeting were Herbert Denenberg and Pete Flaherty, who are seeking the Democratic nomination for Senate.

Tammi, speaking from the floor, challenged them on several questions, including abortion and Watergate,



Militant/Mark Salinoff

Christina Adachi, SWP candidate for U. S. Senate from Pennsylvania.

and called on each of them to debate SWP senatorial candidate Christina Adachi.

Although both Democrats dodged the question of a debate with Adachi, the socialist campaign was well received. Both Flaherty and Denenberg were booed and hissed when they stated their opposition to abortion.

Adachi will be the featured speaker at a campaign event in Philadelphia April 20, as part of a socialist educational conference that weekend.

Other speakers at the conference will include Ed Heisler, SWP candidate for Senate from Illinois; Dianne Feeley, speaking on women's liberation and the socialist movement; and Stephanie Coontz, associate editor of the International Socialist Review, speaking on "America's Rebel Tradition."

For more information contact the SWP campaign at 1004 Filbert St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Telephone: (215) WA5-4316.

— ANDY ROSE

## Escalator clause

The New York City transit workers' success in winning a cost-of-living escalator clause in their new contract is an important breakthrough for public employees that is likely to have nationwide repercussions.

It is testimony to the growing popularity of the escalator clause among rank-and-file union members, who are pressing for their unions to adopt this demand. With prices rising at breakneck speed and government "price controls" exposed as a fraud, the escalator clause appears—at least to workers—as a matter of elementary economic justice.

The employing class has noted this development with alarm. Both the *New York Times* and *Business Week* have condemned the transit workers settlement as an "ominous" sign that escalator clauses are spreading.

In addition to direct resistance to cost-of-living clauses, the ruling class is seeking indirect ways to undermine the effect of escalators if and when they are won. On April 5 the Labor Department announced that it is adopting a new method for computing the Consumer Price Index, supposedly to reflect the spending patterns of a broader section of the population.

The real purpose of this change, however, is to include more luxury items, thus understating the real effect of inflation and cheating workers who have won wage increases pegged to the index.

The true cost-of-living increase, however, is not reflected in the present index either. It, too, significantly underestimates inflation—making highly dubious allowances for "improved quality" of goods, and always lagging many weeks behind the actual price increases.

Unions and consumer groups should establish their own independent price-watch committees and devise their own index to accurately tell what working-class families are paying for goods and services. This government, which represents the capitalists, cannot be trusted to provide such a gauge.

Another needed improvement in escalator clauses would be to raise wages to compensate for higher prices far more frequently than the once, twice, or at most four times a year now specified in wage escalators.

Finally, in order for all working people's incomes to be protected against erosion by inflation, unlimited escalator clauses should be extended not only to wages but also to Social Security, pensions, veterans' benefits, and unemployment compensation.

## Nixon & IRS

Latest Watergate disclosures show that the Nixon administration was still using the Internal Revenue Service to spy on and try to victimize dissidents as late as last August, during the height of the Senate Watergate hearings.

Senator Lowell Weicker (R-Conn.) revealed April 8 that a secret "Activist Organizations Committee" was set up in the IRS at the White House's behest and that secret dossiers were gathered on some 10,000 citizens. Special targets included groups that "print and distribute publications advocating revolution against the government of this country," and "so-called non-violent groups" whose offenses included burning draft cards, participating in and organizing May Day demonstrations, and organizing and attending "festivals which attract youth and narcotics."

Again, the pretext for this illegal harassment and surveillance of those who criticize government policy was that they "may be a threat to the security of the U.S."

At the same time that Nixon was trying to frame protesters and radicals on trumped-up tax charges, he was busy trying to bail cronies such as John Wayne and Billy Graham out of IRS difficulties, Weicker revealed.

Appropriately enough, the new data on government Watergating came to light less than a week after Nixon himself was caught cheating on almost half a million dollars in taxes. But Nixon, unlike any political protester who might have been snared by the "Activist Organizations Committee," has not been indicted for tax evasion or even charged a fraud penalty. And his tab will no doubt be picked up by some of his multimillionaire accomplices.

More important than Nixon's personal embarrassment is the renewed proof of how the capitalist government operates. There is one law for the rich and their retainers, and another for their opponents. That is the essence of capitalist "democracy."

### St. Louis building trades

Your articles on the building trades have been good, particularly those about the San Francisco carpenters. Reprinting some of them in the pamphlet *Construction Workers Under Attack* makes handy information for construction workers everywhere.

In St. Louis the heat is on, as elsewhere. For several years here the carpenters, laborers, hoisting engineers, cement finishers, and construction Teamsters have negotiated as a group with the General Contractors Association (GCA).

This year the GCA is making new demands on the unions. The contractors want a five-year agreement with wage raises each year of 3 percent in April and another 3 percent in November. There is no allowance for the steep rise in the cost of living.

In addition, the contractors want some changes in hours of work and conditions of employment. The regular starting time for years has been 8 in the morning, quitting at 4:30 p.m. Any work outside those hours was paid at the overtime rate. The contractors want this changed so they can start when they choose without paying overtime until a full eight hours is worked.

There are other union-wrecking demands of the employers association, but this gives you an idea of that they are up to and how they are moving against the unions.

In reading over your articles, it is clear that what the contractors here are doing is part of a general pattern in the building trades nationally.

H.R.  
St. Louis, Mo.

### CLUW conference I

While I was attending the national conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) I was sold a subscription to *The Militant*. I had purchased *The Militant* for about three months prior to the conference and want to thank you for the way all your articles tell it like it is.

I know as a Pennsylvania state convener for CLUW that you told it like it is for CLUW. My gratitude for all your fine efforts. Enclosed is a check for \$3 with which I would like to purchase 12 copies of your April 5 issue covering the CLUW conference. They will certainly help me in educating some people.

Dolores Mallon  
Philadelphia, Pa.

### CLUW conference II

*The Militant's* coverage of the CLUW founding conference really captured the excitement this participant felt in being part of this new stage of the feminist movement. The power of working women will truly be brought to bear in the struggle to overturn this rotten system.

There were a couple of important amendments to the "Statement of Purpose" as it was passed in its final form that didn't appear in *The Militant*. I just wanted to call the readers' attention to them for I feel they were indicative of the mood of the 3,000 women assembled in Chicago.

One amendment put CLUW on record as favoring "a shorter workweek without loss of pay" and the second charged CLUW to defend "the right of women to form committees and caucuses at any level of the union wherever and whenever necessary."

One other important addition to your

otherwise excellent article concerned the elections of officers. Among the four regional vice-presidents elected was Dana Dunham, a rank-and-file member of the Communications Workers of America from Atlanta, to represent the South. This was symbolic of the sentiment to guarantee rank-and-file participation in the elected leadership of CLUW.

C.H.  
Los Angeles, Calif.

### Helping out

It was pleasant running into a member of *The Militant's* sales team a couple of weeks ago at Adelphi University in Garden City, N.Y. I already subscribe to *The Militant* and as I work full-time days and go to graduate school at night, I could not afford to contribute to the 1974 Socialist Workers Party campaign. I did, however, manage to sell quite a few trial subscriptions of *The Militant* for you. (Six subscriptions enclosed.)

I hope to be able to send you more subscriptions in the future. I might even possibly be able to arrange some speaking engagements for your candidates at Adelphi and Stony Brook.

Thomas Brown  
Bethpage, N.Y.

### YSA and gay rights

I want to call your attention to an article that was printed in the Feb. 13 issue of the *Advocate*, the Los Angeles gay newspaper. The *Advocate* has a national focus and is widely read by gays and supporters of gay liberation.

It's clearly a malicious article, and, I believe, a slander of our movement. But I was not at the Young Socialist Alliance convention mentioned in the article so hope you can enlighten me on what really happened there.

T.K.  
Cambridge, Mass.

*In reply*—Rich Finkel, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, wrote an answer to the *Advocate* article in question. This letter was printed in the March 13 *Advocate*. Since there may be some *Militant* readers who read the original *Advocate* article, but not Finkel's response, we are printing it here:

"In an article entitled 'Gay issue splits Socialist Party ranks,' the Feb. 13 *Advocate* printed a vicious collection of lies, distortions, and slanders against the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party.

"The reporter, who is not identified, claims that two gay members of the YSA were 'threatened with physical violence' for handing out a leaflet at the YSA's national convention, held in Chicago at the end of December. We are even accused of 'manhandling' one of the leafleters.

"No one, however, was 'manhandled' or 'threatened with physical violence' at our convention. The two YSA members were asked not to hand out their leaflets because our procedure is that all discussion materials are circulated through a printed discussion bulletin. All YSA members had the opportunity to contribute to this bulletin which printed 72 different articles—including articles debating how the YSA could best support the gay liberation movement. Any delegate at our convention was free to inform the convention of the criticisms held by



these two members.

"Your reporter then repeats these criticisms, even though they are totally untrue. YSA members are *not* forbidden 'under penalty of expulsion' from attending gay liberation meetings; *The Militant* has *not* 'systematically refused' articles on gay liberation; the YSA is *not* out to 'sabotage' the gay liberation movement.

"We regret that the *Advocate* did not attempt to contact either the YSA or SWP before printing these and other distortions. If you had, you would have learned that the December YSA convention overwhelmingly approved the following position: 'The YSA opposes all forms of oppression and discrimination facing homosexuals in this society. We will support local gay liberation struggles and oppose any administration attempts to deny university recognition to campus gay liberation groups.'

"The *Advocate's* dishonest report on our convention can only harm the gay liberation movement. The YSA and SWP have supported gay liberation struggles in cities across the country, and SWP candidates have consistently campaigned for gay rights. We intend to continue to contribute to the ongoing struggle of gay people for full civil and human rights."

Rich Finkel

YSA National Secretary

### CP and impeachment

After reading your article "Debate on impeachment vs. resignation" in the April 5 issue, it struck me how ridiculous and disorienting the position of the Communist Party is on this question. They jump right into this debate within the ruling class over which would be better for "preserving our institutions."

The March 21 *Daily World* attacks Senator Buckley's call for Nixon's resignation as an "attempt to divide and undercut the swelling movement to impeach Nixon." They say they stand "foursquare for Nixon's impeachment and conviction for his crimes against the people and the Constitution."

As if the Democrats and Republicans in Congress can be counted on to do such a thing! Here you have people who call themselves communists in a position of opposing Nixon's resignation! Most Americans would no doubt be glad to get rid of him any possible way. But not the CP! They "stand foursquare" for keeping him in office and letting the other crooks in Congress take responsibility for bringing their leader to "justice."

The *Daily World* adopts the Democrats' and Republicans' concern for "preserving the office of the presidency." They accuse Nixon of "degradation of the office of the President," and say that "contempt of the Presidency by the man who occupies that office is an impeachable offense."

J.W.

New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

## Police provocations in Denver

In a recent *Militant* we reported on a demonstration of 3,000 Chicanos and others held March 17 in Denver to protest police harassment of the Crusade for Justice, a Chicano organization. I have received additional information on one aspect of that action from Peter Seidman, the Denver organizer of the Socialist Workers Party.

Seidman reports that the Crusade foiled attempts by the Denver police department to provoke a confrontation that would have given the cops an excuse to break up the action.

Since *raza* activists everywhere face similar problems when attempting to exercise their democratic rights, the Denver experience is of special interest.

The possibility that the Denver police were seeking to provoke a confrontation first arose when it was announced by the Crusade that an anonymous letter was circulating in the department threatening two out of a list of 20 cops with assassination on the day of the action. Later, a nurse whose husband is a Denver cop began spreading the word at Denver General Hospital that there would be violence on March 17. The hospital began to prepare for an influx of emergency cases, including tear-gas victims.

In Aurora, a Denver suburb, a right-wing city councilman—apparently with a pipeline to the Denver police—warned colleagues to stay out of Denver on March 17.

It doesn't take too much imagination to figure out that the police were hoping to whip up a confrontation at the march and rally.

The Crusade for Justice was able to turn the situation around. In collaboration with a number of other organizations, the Crusade held a news conference a week before the demonstration at which John Haro, chief marshal for the action, stressed the legal and peaceful nature of the activities planned. Haro told reporters that a permit had been secured for the

march and rally and that the onus for any violence at the demonstration would fall clearly on the cops.

Haro explained that the Crusade had met with representatives of the mayor's office and demanded to know if they were aware of the provocative rumors being circulated by the cops. This meeting was attended by representatives of the State Human Rights Commission who, Haro told the press, would serve as observers at the action to help ensure that there would be no police attack.

A number of individuals, including Vincent Harvier, director of Denver AIM; Ruth Bugler from the National Lawyers Guild; Tony Martinez from the student senate at Colorado University Denver Center; Barbara Hennegan, student activities committee head at Metropolitan State College; Richard Longoria of the United Farm Workers; and Jack Marsh, 1974 Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senate, spoke at the news conference to indicate their support for the right of the Crusade to demonstrate without police harassment.

The effect of these measures was to put the Denver police on the defensive. An article on the news conference headlined "Calm to prevail at Crusade action" appeared in the next day's *Denver Post*. By appealing for broad support, the Crusade was able to maximize the size of the action and thereby make it more difficult for a police attack to occur.

While no action taken by movement groups can assure that the police will never attack our meetings, marches, and rallies, actions such as those taken by the Crusade can minimize the danger of such attacks.

The lessons of how the Crusade thwarted police plans to disrupt their demonstration are therefore quite important—especially with the release of highly censored FBI documents showing that the police conspiracy against the Crusade is not an isolated action, but typical of the whole "COINTELPRO" operations of the government's secret police.

## National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



## Tough times in building trades

Any of George Meany's old cronies who had been away since 1972 would surely have thought he was witnessing a crass April Fool joke if he were suddenly brought back to see the performance this April 1 at the legislative conference of the AFL-CIO building trades. There was Meany denouncing the president of the United States, demanding impeachment, and declaring that "the American people have completely lost confidence. . . ."

Only a year ago this same gang of parasites, Meany among them, listened to Nixon and applauded just as they now applaud Meany's jibes at him. Most of them voted for Nixon, and many were active campaigners for him in 1972.

They all knew a year ago—and 20 years earlier—that Nixon was a crook. But in 1972 they hoped Nixon would provide some protection because they were running into trouble. It turns out now that Nixon is unable to protect himself, never mind others. So the heads of the building-trades unions are turning to their former friends and onetime protectors in the Democratic party. But this won't do them much good either.

Meany spoke. The others listened. "We, as a group of workers millions strong, can play our part in giving America back to its people." The delegates interpret this to mean a return to the good old days when they and the employers were on better terms. When they hear "the people" mentioned, they think it means them and the bosses. The workers, "millions strong," are only bargaining pawns for this gang of labor skates.

Union officials all over are getting different treatment from the employers than they were accorded a few years ago, and it is not becoming more cordial. General President S. Frank Raftery of the International Brotherhood of Painters complains in the March issue of the union's journal that "it has been damned tough."

He refers to the changed relations among union officials, building contractors, and government agencies, including some local police. The old chums don't meet any more as they once did to cut up fat construction contracts and pass around bribes and piece-offs.

Today big construction firms are sponsoring open-shop outfits like Associated Builders and Contractors (ABC). They retain their own work crews on a year-round basis (bypassing union hiring halls), pay far less than union wages, and ignore all job classifications of the separate trades. (They hire skilled mechanics who are competent in several trades, semi-skilled helpers, and mostly common laborers.)

The once-chummy politicians retain friendly relations with the richest contractors. But they have only a cold and hostile eye for the union business agent, who is no longer able to deliver votes at election time.

A campaign in the mass media and in Congress against "violence" by construction unions has prepared the ground for court injunctions, damage suits, antilabor legislation, and police attacks.

Recently a group of business agents and other union officials picketed a banquet hall in the Detroit suburb of Madison Heights. The ABC open-shop contractors were holding an affair there, and Republican Congressman Robert Huber was the guest speaker.

The police blocked off the area, waded in with riot equipment, and made 73 arrests. According to an account by Alex Harris, secretary-treasurer of Painters District Council 22, "We were herded into vans and taken to the police station. We were fingerprinted and our 'mug shots' were taken. Then we were taken to a cell—a 'pen'—and after many hours we were all taken out to give more identification. Then we were sent to another cell like a bunch of cattle."

Not so long ago, when antiwar demonstrators were arrested, these self-satisfied pro-Nixon bureaucrats in the building-trades unions used to grunt, "Tough." Now it's getting tough all over.





For whom the gate slams—People have lost jobs for getting too many personal calls. Now we may have a case of someone being fired because his brother taps his phone. The Marriott Corporation announced it was retiring Donald Nixon because of "ill health." Also, they said, they've "embarked on an austerity program caused by the energy crisis."

And rightly so—J. Allen Hynek, head of the astronomy department at Northwestern University, said that recent opinion polls confirm that more people believe in flying saucers than believe in President Nixon.

How much equality do you want?—The pope's recent statement that the Virgin Mary was practically a right-

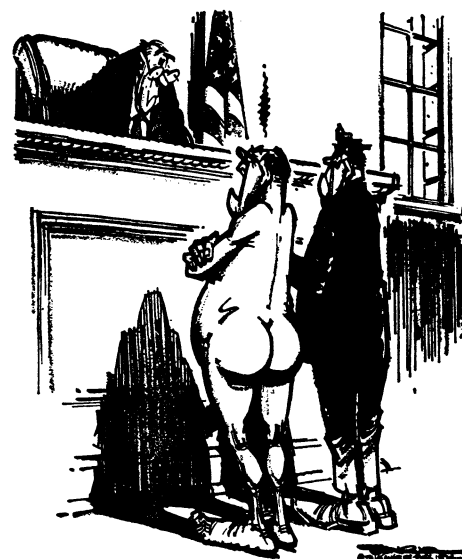
on women's liberationist means women will be able to play a bigger role in the church, a Vatican spokesman said. Of course, he explained, they will continue to be excluded from the priesthood.

**Maintains self-respect**—Released after doing 39 months for mail fraud, Salvatore (Bill) Bonanno said he intended to dispel his reputation as a mobster by becoming an author and lecturer. He has, however, turned down an offer to play a cop in a TV series. "I'm not that rehabilitated," he said.

**But they still get the coffee**—In a keen display of sensitivity to women's liberation, the California Employment Service changed its "Girl Friday" job category to "Person Friday."

**We should've known**—Someone sent us a religious tract with the eye-catching title *How to Get Rid of Religious Fanatics*. Inside it explains that if you want to get rid of them it's because you're a fanatic about going to hell. But it doesn't say how to get rid of them.

**Fat City**—The Department of Agriculture wants us to have a bit more fatty parts of animals, including hog jowls, in our diet and proposes that processors be permitted to use more such items in hot dogs and hamburgers. The only qualification is that they also use "lean streaks" or bits of red meat. Or, we assume, at least a dash of coloring.



"I'm not a streaker—I'm a consumer!"

## Women In Revolt

## Linda Jenness



### 'One Woman to Another'

Inspired by the recent founding convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, I became more interested in the role of our sisters in earlier union struggles. Several "old timers" referred me to the pages of the *Northwest Organizer*, newspaper of the Minneapolis Teamsters during the giant labor struggles of the 1930s.

I was delighted to find there a column by Marvel Scholl called "One Woman to Another."

Marvel Scholl was, among other things, one of the main organizers of a sewing project—composed primarily of women—set up under the Works Progress Administration (WPA) in the late 1930s. The WPA was a public works program established under Roosevelt.

The Minneapolis women on WPA were part of the Federal Workers Section, Local 544 of the Teamsters. When the government tried to cut WPA off, a nationwide strike took place of which the Federal Workers Section in Minneapolis was a key part. The women at the sewing project joined the strike. The courts issued an injunction against the strike, and many women were arrested and indicted on conspiracy charges when the strike continued.

Reprinted here is Marvel Scholl's "One Woman to Another" column of Oct. 26, 1939, slightly abridged for reasons of space.

Next week when Federal Judge Joyce's court reconvenes, a group of our sex is coming to trial on the WPA thing. I would like to talk about these women, today. To tell you something about them as persons and unionists. Knowing them, working with them, taught many of us that women can be as good "union men" as any member of the male sex. A little less than two years ago the women on WPA began to realize that unless they did something about their own status, they would be left far behind the men. Most women on WPA are mothers, left alone to take care of their children. Unlike the men, they had not only to work on WPA, but they had also to maintain their homes, keep their children clean and in school, keep them fed and well.

In other words, they had a double job. It might have been easier, from a purely physical point of view, had most of them stayed on direct relief or mothers aid—but women are no more ready and willing to take something for nothing than are the opposite sex. They clamored for and got jobs, sewing, cleaning, assisting in the hospitals, clerical work—anything at which they could work to earn their money.

Working on huge projects, under supervisors who were prone to give favors to favorites, made a group of these WPA women workers realize that unless they organized they were lost. So they organized. They won new and better conditions for

all the workers. They took care of their members, called on them when they were ill, helped them get relief when they couldn't work, helped them get back their jobs when they were laid off, assisted them to do better work when they were in danger of losing those jobs because maybe sewing wasn't something they had been born to do—got parents of workers on Old Age Assistance—aided other mothers to get Aid to Dependent Children when it was no longer possible for them to go on with the double job.

Next week several of these women come to trial. They are charged with "conspiracy." They face almost certain conviction. If these women—if any of the WPA workers who stand convicted or who are in danger of being convicted—if they are guilty then so is every man and woman in the United States who has ever dared to stand up for his or her own ideals; who has ever struck out against oppression; who has ever believed that this is a free country.

They are charged with "conspiracy" because they believed in the Golden Rule which tells us to "do unto others as you would be done by." If "conspiracy" is helping your fellow man to a better life; if conspiracy is putting bread into the mouths of hungry children and old people; if "conspiracy" is giving your all with never a thought for yourself, then they stand convicted. They are real women. They make me proud to be a woman!

## By Any Means Necessary

## Baxter Smith



### Repeal the Byrd Amendment!

Last week I pointed out that United Nations-imposed economic sanctions and stepped-up guerrilla activity have had a depressing effect on the morale of many white Rhodesians.

In 1968, the United Nations imposed mandatory economic sanctions on the white settler-state because it refused to grant majority rule to the 5.5 million Africans.

In 1971, however, the U.S. Congress passed what is known as the Byrd Amendment, which allows U.S. corporations to import goods considered to have "strategic" value.

Chrome, ferrochrome, and nickel ores have been imported from Rhodesia under the Byrd Amendment. Rhodesia is believed to have the largest concentrations of high-grade chrome ore and ferrochrome in the world.

The Byrd Amendment is a piece of cold war-type legislation justified on the grounds that the U.S. must not become dependent on the Soviet Union for these ores. The Soviet Union is said to have the second largest concentration of these

ores.

Under the Byrd Amendment, U.S. corporations imported more than \$13-million worth of Rhodesian ores in 1972. U.S. mineral corporations and stainless steel companies say they prefer the inexpensive Rhodesian ores because they enable them to compete with foreign producers.

But because of ballooning international and domestic political pressure, and détente with the Soviet Union, the ruling class considers it best now to repeal the Byrd Amendment.

Last October, Henry Kissinger said: "the Byrd provision is not essential to our national security, brings us no real economic advantage, and is detrimental to the conduct of foreign relations."

In December, the Senate voted for repeal. Any day now, the House is expected to do the same.

The ruling class decision to repeal the amendment is not based on its support of Black rule in Rhodesia.

No, the decision is based in part on the tem-

porary diplomatic pressures of détente. The Soviet Union has been willing to supply U.S. corporations with as much chrome as they need. Fact is, U.S. imports of Soviet chrome have more than doubled since passage of the amendment.

The other factor has been the international campaign to isolate the Rhodesian government and enforce the boycott. In the U.S. groups supporting repeal of the Byrd Amendment include the United Church of Christ, the National Black Assembly, the NAACP, the African Liberation Support Committee, the American Bar Association, the YWCA, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and the United Steelworkers of America. Black dockworkers and students have held demonstrations protesting the arrival of Rhodesian ore on several occasions.

But even if the amendment is repealed, the battle won't be over. We will need to keep up the pressure and let America's rulers know that we oppose all U.S. corporate involvement in Rhodesia—and for that matter, in the rest of southern Africa as well.

## Wounded Knee case

# Gov't officials ordered to testify at trial

By GREG CORNELL

ST. PAUL, Minn.—Several high-ranking government officials, including Assistant U.S. Attorney General Henry Petersen, have been ordered to testify at the Wounded Knee trial about illegal FBI wiretaps.

The subpoena of Petersen followed the latest revelations that top officials in the Justice Department and FBI knew the government was illegally monitoring the telephone at Wounded Knee, S.D., last year.



PETERSEN: Ordered to tell about illegal wiretap.

Also ordered to appear in court were:

Carl Belcher, head of the General Crimes section of the criminal division of the Justice Department.

Roy K. Moore, high-ranking FBI official.

Joseph Trimbach, special agent in charge of FBI operations at Wounded Knee last year and head of the FBI office in Minneapolis.

W. Mark Felt, the third-ranking official in the FBI last year, now retired.

The government officials will also

be questioned by defense attorneys about FBI attempts at a cover-up relating to the withholding of key documents from the defense by the government.

The subpoenas came during the fourth week of a hearing into government misconduct in the case. The trial of Dennis Banks and Russell Means, leaders of the Wounded Knee seizure, has been recessed since mid-March.

The latest bombshell came on April 6 when the government handed over a letter to the defense written by Felt of the FBI to Assistant U.S. Attorney General Petersen.

In the letter, dated March 20, 1973, Felt indicates Petersen believed that the monitoring of a telephone by the FBI during last year's 71-day seizure was illegal.

The phone the FBI was listening in on was an extension line installed on FBI orders at a federal roadblock. Six FBI agents have already testified that they listened in on the "party line" to people making calls into and out of Wounded Knee.

The letter from Felt to Petersen reads:

"The agents admit 'accidental' overhear on the party line. I am not so naive as to rule out other overhears."

The government produced the letter after the defense demanded to know what documents there were regarding an FBI affidavit last year seeking a "legal" wiretap of Wounded Knee telephones.

The government had turned down the wiretap request.

Judge Fred Nichol has indicated that he will probably rule within the next week on whether he will dismiss all charges as has been demanded by the defense.

In an article in the April 9 *Minneapolis Star* by reporter Randy Furst, Nichol is quoted as saying: "I am not hardened. I can still dismiss it. Or I could continue it and deny all the motions."

Nichol reportedly offered the defense attorneys a mistrial last week, but the defense rejected the offer. A

mistrial would mean that no charges would be dismissed and that Banks and Means would be tried over again.

Nichol's admission that a mistrial is in order implies that a fair trial is impossible, whether or not he acknowledges it. It would seem therefore that the only just solution would be dismissal of the charges.

In a brief presented to the judge April 8, the defense laid out its case: "The extent of governmental misconduct, including the illegal telephone interceptions, which has poisoned this case from its inception is such as to demand the immediate dismissal of all charges against the defendants."

"Dismissal is required on basis of a denial to the defendants of due process and equal protection of the laws, the flagrant governmental violations of the discovery orders of this court . . . and the telephone interceptions which have been shown to be both systematic and for no legal purpose whatsoever."

The defense quotes Judge Matthew Byrne, who in his action dismissing the case against Dr. Daniel Ellsberg said: "Conduct of the government has

placed the case in such a posture that it precludes a fair, dispassionate resolution of these issues by a jury."

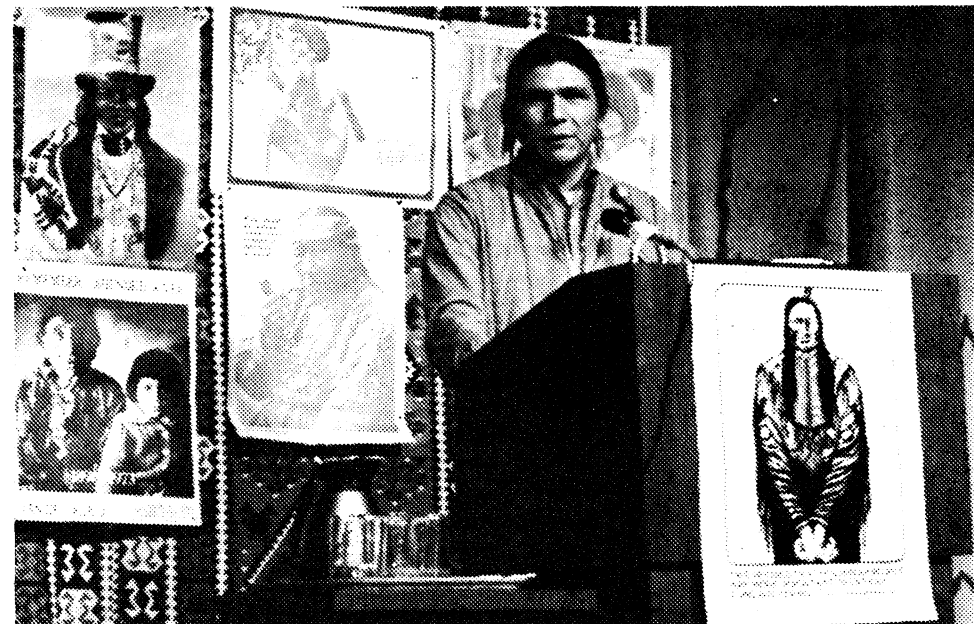
The defense has been severely hampered because the government has been only slowly and reluctantly turning over documents regarding the case, in clear violation of a court order last October. The defense charges that a large number of relevant documents have still not been given them.

Defense attorney William Kunstler told *The Militant* that numerous other judges would have already dismissed the case.

"It's incredible that this trial is being allowed to continue," defense attorney Mark Lane said in an interview.

The Wounded Knee seizure dramatized the demands of American Indians for justice in the face of centuries of government mistreatment and outright genocide.

The last four months of testimony in St. Paul have shown that the government has only one clear intent now: to prevent a fair trial, much as the U.S. has broken hundreds of Indian treaties in the last century.



Wounded Knee defendant Dennis Banks speaks Feb. 3 during Native American Week at University of Wisconsin in Madison.

# Protests set to defend Soviet dissidents

By JEAN WALKER

An "Appeal to World Public Opinion" was issued April 3 calling for three days of protest against the repression of civil liberties in the USSR and Czechoslovakia as well as in other Eastern European countries.

The appeal was released by Pavel Litvinov upon his arrival in the United States this week. It is signed by Litvinov for the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the Soviet Union; Jiri Pelikan for the collective of *Listy*, a journal of the Czechoslovak socialist opposition; Andrei Sakharov, of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union; and Ken Coates and Chris Farley for the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation.

The first of the three days of protest is set for May 7, the anniversary of the imprisonment of Major-General Pyotr Grigorenko, one of the most prominent of the Soviet oppositionists, who has been confined in mental hospitals since 1969.

On May 7, says the appeal, "we urge a world-wide initiative of protests, meetings and petitions in solidarity with Pyotr Grigorenko and all other victims of politically motivated incarceration in mental hospitals and prisons in the USSR."

The appeal also urges that protests be planned for Nov. 27 of this year, the anniversary of the arrest of Czech-

oslovak oppositionists Jaroslav Sabata and Jiri Müller, as well as on March 29, 1975, the anniversary of the imprisonment of Soviet dissident Vladimir Bukovsky.

The appeal was earlier distributed to the press in Amsterdam as well by Pavel Litvinov, who was recently forced to leave the Soviet Union.

Addressed to "socialists, communists, democratic and humanitarian organizations and individuals," the appeal states: "Oppression in any country diminishes humanity everywhere. Oppression in a country with a socialist constitution is a particular challenge to the radical conscience of the rest of the

world, since these countries claim themselves to be both democratic and advanced in the field of civil rights.

"To all those human beings who feel sympathy for the future of socialism in this sense, and to all genuine democrats, we address this appeal."

The call for protests May 7 focusing on the case of Pyotr Grigorenko is especially important. Grigorenko, 67, is certain to die in confinement unless worldwide pressure forces his release. The prominent dissident is confined with insane persons, denied even a pencil and paper, and has developed blindness in one eye and skin sores during his incarceration.

On April 8 Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn added his voice to the calls for Grigorenko's freedom. In a statement co-signed by Soviet mathematician Igor Shafarevich, the author charged that "neither administrators of mental hospitals nor physicians pretend that they consider Grigorenko ill." He said Grigorenko was being "methodically suffocated to the end" as an example to intimidate other dissidents.

Grigorenko was a member of the Soviet Communist Party from 1927 until his expulsion for dissident activities in 1964. He attained the rank of major general in the Soviet army and was awarded six medals and six decorations, including the Order of Lenin, during his military career.

His first imprisonment in a mental institution was in 1964-65. The "psychiatric" report on him at that time reflected the fact that Grigorenko's critique of Stalinism is from a Leninist perspective. The report stated, "He decided to struggle against the existing order, to 'conduct an explanation of Leninist tenets among the people, and to spread Leninist principles.'"

From 1966 until his second arrest in 1969, Grigorenko became increasingly active in the movement for socialist democracy in the Soviet Union. He was prominent in the defense of arrested dissidents, in the protests against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, and in the defense of oppressed national minorities within the Soviet Union.

Grigorenko is widely known and respected among Soviet dissidents for his courage and uncowed audacity in the face of intimidation from the Kremlin. He has assumed the leadership of crowds of dissident supporters barred from political trials; he has rebuffed secret police provocations; once he even dragged a KGB (secret police) thug to a police station to report him for illegal harassment.

An international campaign in defense of Grigorenko will be an inspiration to dissidents throughout the Soviet Union.



Pyotr Grigorenko, focus of May 7 actions.





Prague street meeting in 1968

# Leninism, Stalinism, and the struggle for socialist democracy

By DAVE FRANKEL

The last two months have seen one Soviet artist after another victimized by the Brezhnev regime. The expulsion of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn from the Soviet Union was accompanied by reprisals and threats against all who solidarized with his right to be heard. Even those who remained silent, refusing to join in the avalanche of slander, were pressured and threatened.

Artists who have spoken out in protest include the poets Yevgeny Yevtushenko and Andrei Voznesensky, the sculptor Ernst Neizvestny, and the writers Lydia Chukovskaya and Victor Nekrasov.

Nekrasov, who won the Stalin prize in 1947, asked in a letter March 11, "Are we not being too generous in throwing away people of whom we should be proud? . . . After all, secret-police investigators do not write books for us, paint pictures or compose symphonies."

Nekrasov's comment recalls a section in Leon Trotsky's book *Literature and Revolution* written in 1922 and 1923, in which Trotsky discussed the Bolshevik policy toward art. Replying to those who wanted to suppress "nonproletarian" schools of art, Trotsky wrote, "if we should eliminate Pilnyak, with his *The Naked Year*, the 'Serapion Fraternity' with Vsevolod Ivanov, Tikhonov, and Polonskaya, if we should eliminate Mayakovsky and Essenin, is there anything that will remain for us but a few unpaid promissory notes of a future proletarian literature?"

Trotsky contended (and this was the official policy of the Soviet Communist Party until the mid-1920s): "The domain of art is not one in which the party is called upon to command. It can and must protect and help it, but it can only lead it indirectly."

The Russian revolution unleashed a tremendous burst of creative energy. In the years immediately following the civil war, imagists headed by Sergei Essenin competed with futurists such as Vladimir Mayakovsky and symbolists such as Aleksandr Blok. This was the period when Boris Pasternak established himself as a writer and poet, and when

the world famous films of Sergei Eisenstein were produced.

The *Encyclopedia International*, hardly a supporter of the Bolsheviks, explains, "Early in the Soviet regime, experiments of many kinds marked theatrical activity. . . . The Moscow Art Theater set up experimental studios. Innovations, often violent, were made in plays, in styles of acting, and in stage design. After a number of years, however, this orgy of 'isms' gave way to a less exciting 'socialist realism,' which at times seemed to carry one back to the playhouse of the 19th century."

Similarly, *Collier's Encyclopedia* admits, "In the absence of political censorship during the early post-revolutionary period, much latitude was allowed satirists who poked fun at the abuses of the new regime. . . ."

Art and revolution marched together. The political reaction embodied in Stalinism, however, came to the arts with a vengeance. Pilnyak and the great short story writer Isaac Babel disappeared during Stalin's purges. Essenin and Mayakovsky would no doubt have also perished in the purges, but they committed suicide first.

The Stalinist reaction affected all layers of society in a similar way. The vise of terror was fastened on all political and cultural life. Today, however, new voices are being heard, and the bureaucratic regime is being challenged on its own ground.

The prominence of artists in this challenge should come as no surprise. The tradition of literary dissent in Russia goes back to Aleksandr Radischev, who was sent to Siberia in the eighteenth century for the criticisms of serfdom and absolutism expressed in his book *A Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow*. Furthermore, the latitude for dissent in literature has been greater than in other areas.

## The apologists for capitalism

The apologists for capitalism have been quick to use the protests in the Soviet Union for their own purposes. The outpouring of repulsive cant prompted by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's indictment of the police-state methods of the Soviet bureau-

cracy was epitomized in George Kennan's review of *The Gulag Archipelago*. Kennan was one of Washington's central cold war strategists.

Writing in the March 21 *New York Review of Books*, this hardened servant of U.S. imperialism cites his dismay that the things Solzhenitsyn describes "could have taken place in our own time in a country sharing the Christian tradition. . . ."

(Presumably, Kennan would not be upset by the news of labor camps, show trials, and thought control in countries with Moslem, Hindu, Buddhist, or other traditions. It's only among Christians that these things are shocking.)

Kennan fails to note that the tradition of Western capitalism and imperialism he holds up as his model includes tsarist pogroms, Nazi gas chambers, American chattel slavery, the war in Vietnam, and the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Figures such as Kennan are interested in discrediting the idea of socialism rather than in defending democratic rights. Their defense of the Soviet dissidents, together with the reactionary views voiced by Solzhenitsyn following his departure from the USSR, have caused some people to see the Soviet dissidents as a procapitalist force.

Others ask, "If people in the Soviet Union have to fight for the rights of free speech, free assembly, and freedom of the press 56 years after the October revolution, was it worth making the revolution?"

Additional questions also arise. Was Stalinism an inevitable outgrowth of Bolshevism? Will all attempts to construct a socialist society lead to such deformations? If Stalinism is not a natural extension of Leninism, what is it?

## A great experiment

The Russian revolution of October 1917 was the beginning of a great experiment. It was the beginning of an attempt to consciously construct a better, more rational, and just society than any that had been seen before.

This attempt faced extremely unfavorable circumstances. Marx and Engels had based their ideas for building a socialist society on the possibility of material abundance opened up by the advance of science and the industrial revolution. For this reason they focused their attention on the advanced industrial countries, which they expected would be the first to abolish capitalism.

The chain of world capitalism, however, snapped at its weakest link. It was the working class of the tsarist empire, the most backward of the great European powers, that ushered in the new epoch.

The mass of the tsar's subjects were illiterate peasants. In his book on the 1905 revolution Leon Trotsky described their situation. ". . . even in so-called 'normal' years, the peasant masses cannot emerge from a state of semi-starvation. . . . A single skilled American worker spends, directly and indirectly, as much as two Russian families of six members each."

Writing of the black-earth region of central Russia, Trotsky explained how the peasant "exists on a diet of flour mixed with wood shavings or ground tree-bark. In some places the poverty of the peasants is assuming such proportions that even the presence of bedbugs or cockroaches in an *izba* [hut] is regarded as an eloquent sign of relative wealth. . . . in 9.3 per cent of peasant families [in Voronezh province], cockroaches are not found on account of the prevailing starvation and cold."

## World War I

The misery of the peasants was compounded by the oppression of the non-Russian nationalities—57 percent of the population. The workers and intelligentsia also felt the heavy hand of the



An example of 'socialist realism' in painting. Regimentation of arts introduced by Stalin was alien to Bolshevism.



tsarist autocracy at every turn.

The boiling point came with World War I. One disastrous defeat followed another. Almost five million men were wounded and 1.7 million were killed. Food and fuel shortages spread in the cities, and the corruption of the tsarist regime continued unabated.

In February 1917 the workers of Petrograd overthrew the tsar, gaining the enthusiastic support of the 12 million, mostly peasant soldiers. But the provisional government that succeeded the tsar continued the war, honoring the secret treaties he had signed with the other allied powers. It refused to give the land to the peasants who worked it and denied the subject nationalities the right of self-determination.

The Bolsheviks were the only political party to consistently oppose these policies. They won mass support as a result, gaining a majority in the councils of workers', soldiers' and peasants' deputies. And when they came to power they implemented the promises they had made. The land was given to the peasants, the country was withdrawn from the war, and the right of self-determination of the non-Russian nationalities was recognized, including their right of secession.

## Imperialist intervention

However, the capitalist powers did their best to destroy the new regime. They armed the counterrevolution, sent armies of their own, and blockaded the new Soviet state. The destruction wrought by two-and-a-half years of civil war was added to that which had already been accomplished by the imperialist war.

Emerging from the civil war, the factories in ruins, the land laid waste, the Soviet government faced one of the worst famines in history. Starvation, disease, illiteracy, and war: that was the



Railway workers soviet in 1917. Bolsheviks won a majority in democratically elected councils of workers, soldiers, and peasants because their program spoke to real needs of masses.

heritage of the new regime.

In addition, no help from outside was forthcoming. The Bolsheviks had expected their revolution to provide an impetus for others throughout Europe, but they were disappointed. Those revolutions that did occur were defeated. The Bolsheviks were thrown back on the Soviet Union's own internal resources, and in this situation the dead weight of the past proved stronger than the revolutionary program of Marxism.

## Growth of bureaucracy

The two great problems confronting the Bolsheviks—cultural and economic backwardness, and isolation from the industrial West—led to further difficulties. Lack of trained personnel required reliance on many who had served in the old tsarist apparatus and who retained the habits of their past.

The defeat of the revolutions in the rest of Europe—Hungary in 1919, Germany in 1918-1919 and 1923, Bulgaria in 1923, Italy in 1920, Ireland in 1922—undermined the confidence of the Soviet workers in the perspective of the world revolution. Weariness and passivity among the masses began to replace revolutionary activism.

The effects of this withdrawal of the masses from political activity were exacerbated by the fact that many of the boldest, most self-sacrificing, and devoted representatives of the working class had been killed in the civil war. The layer of politically active workers who remained were rapidly absorbed into the administrative apparatus of the state.

This apparatus, influenced by the poverty of the country and the values of the past, attempted to assure its own comfort and well-being before

anything else. Internally, this meant special privileges for the bureaucracy, and internationally it meant the development of the idea of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.

In a 1938 article Trotsky described an incident illustrating this process. He was invited to the house of Kamenev, a Bolshevik leader who was living in official quarters in the Kremlin. When he got there, "One of the old servants of the Kremlin with a particular gesture of deference and familiarity which at once placed me on guard, opened the door to Kamenev's apartment."

This occurred in 1920 or 1921, just before the famine that reduced millions to starvation and drove many to cannibalism. On Kamenev's table, however, "stood bottles and dainties. . . ."

## Basis of bureaucracy

The Stalinist system of frame-up trials and slave-labor camps was still in the future, but its basis was in the simple fact that there were not enough material goods for everybody in the USSR. "In order to assure to the millions of big and little functionaries their beefsteak, their bottle of wine, and other good things, a totalitarian regime happened to be necessary," explained Trotsky.

In his article on *Stalinism and Bolshevism*, Trotsky elaborated. "The state built up by the Bolsheviks reflects not only the thought and will of Bolshevism but also the cultural level of the country, the social composition of the population, the pressure of a barbaric past and no less barbaric world imperialism. To represent the process of degeneration of the Soviet state as the evolution of pure Bolshevism is to ignore social reality in the name of only one of its elements, isolated by pure logic. . . ."

"Bolshevism, at any rate, never identified itself either with the October Revolution or with the Soviet state that issued from it. Bolshevism considered itself as one of the factors of history, the 'conscious' factor—a very important but not the decisive one. . . . We saw the decisive factor—on the existing basis of productive forces—in the class struggle, not only on a national but on an international scale."

In the final analysis, the degeneration of the Soviet state was determined by the failures of the socialist revolution in the West. However, these defeats were far from inevitable. Many of them were due to the misleadership of the Stalinist faction. The bureaucracy was more and more interested in consolidating its power and in maintaining good diplomatic relations with the capitalist countries, rather than in the triumph of the socialist revolution.

## The Left Opposition

The success or failure of the bureaucracy in consolidating its rule could only be determined in the course of political struggle. Led by Trotsky, tens of thousands of the most dedicated revolutionists exposed the growing privileges of the bureaucrats and their revision of revolutionary Marxism in the interests of maintaining their comfort.

Those who maintain that Stalinism was a logical and necessary outgrowth of Bolshevism, rather than its negation, do more than ignore the social conditions faced by the revolution, the imperialist intervention, and the international context the Bolsheviks were operating in. They also discount the fact that to secure its rule the bureaucracy was compelled to launch a campaign of terror to wipe out those who remained true to the principles of Marxism, a campaign that continues to this day.

The Stalinist order was so far removed from the early Bolshevik regime that its maintenance required the extermination of practically all those who had joined the party before the revolution and many who had entered during the period of the civil war. By the 1930s, a large part of the Stalinist apparatus consisted of people who had stood on the other side of the barricades—against the Bolsheviks—during the revolution.

The Stalinist program of peaceful coexistence with imperialism was diametrically opposed to the Marxist program of struggle for a world socialist federation. The Stalinist bureaucrats engaged in constant warfare with genuine revolutionists.

To equate Stalinism and Leninism is to equate the counterrevolution with the revolution. In one case the masses of people were in control, in the other they were driven back and many of their gains were lost. Bolshevism represents the interests of the workers and peasants of the world, while Stalinism represents the interests of the narrow, self-seeking bureaucrats who rule the Soviet Union today.

Although the capitalist press has jumped at the chance to smear the socialist movement with the crimes of Stalin, it didn't always take this ap-



Victims of famine in Soviet Union in 1921. Poverty of country was one of factors behind growth of privileged bureaucracy.

proach. The capitalists were not unhappy with the triumph of Stalinism. Commenting on the expulsion of Trotsky from the Soviet Communist Party, the Feb. 1, 1928, issue of *The Nation* said:

"This action brings to the front the question: Who represents the continuation of the Bolshevik programme in Russia and who the inevitable reaction from it? To the American readers it has seemed as if Lenin and Trotsky represented the same thing and the conservative press and statesmen have arrived at the same conclusion. Thus, the *New York Times* found a chief cause for rejoicing on New Year's Day in the successful elimination of Trotsky from the Communist Party, declaring flatly that 'the ousted opposition stood for the perpetuation of the ideas and conditions that have cut off Russia from Western civilization.'"

"Most of the great European newspapers wrote similarly. Sir Austin Chamberlain during the Geneva Conference was quoted as saying that England could not enter into conversations with Russia for the simple reason that 'Trotsky had not yet been shot against a wall'—he must be pleased by Trotsky's banishment. . . . At any rate, the mouthpieces of reaction in Europe are one in their conclusion that Trotsky, and not Stalin, is their chief Communist enemy."

## A contradictory society

The consolidation of the Soviet bureaucracy resulted in the elimination of the gains of the October revolution in the political field. The working class and peasantry are no longer able to engage in open political discussion, let alone make decisions about the running of the country.

At the same time, the economic gains of the revolution have survived and been extended. Although hampered by the brutal, self-defeating methods of the bureaucracy and by the failure to involve the workers in its direction, the planned economy established in 1917 has decisively proved its superiority to capitalist anarchy.

At the time of the Russian revolution Britain and Germany were the primary industrial powers in the world. Within 30 years both had been surpassed

*Continued on following page*

# ...The struggle for socialist democracy

Continued from preceding page

by the Soviet Union, which in 1947 became the second industrial power in the world. Today, the Soviet economy is comparable to those of Britain, France, and Germany combined.

These gains cannot be explained except on the basis of the economic system made possible by the overthrow of capitalism. Another example of the same type is China, which continues to make huge economic strides as a result of its socialist revolution, while India stagnates.

In analyzing the Soviet Union today, it is necessary to take into account the overthrow of capitalism and the existence of property forms that are a prerequisite for the construction of socialism, as well as the rule of a reactionary, narrow-minded bureaucracy. The property forms must be preserved, and the bureaucracy must be overthrown. A political revolution is on the order of the day in the USSR.

## The political revolution

At first the Left Opposition had hoped that new events would revive the revolutionary spirit of the Soviet Communist Party, and throughout the 1920s it attempted to reform the Soviet party. The rise of Hitler in Germany was the decisive historical test that demonstrated that all possibility of reform was gone.

In the face of the Nazi threat, the German Communist Party proved incapable of altering its political line of sterile sectarianism and ultraleftism. Following Hitler's triumph this policy—which had been fostered by Stalin and which played a decisive role in the fascist victory—was approved as correct. The defeat in Germany didn't even provoke a discussion within the Stalinized Communist parties.

Since 1933, Trotsky's call for a political revolution to throw out the bureaucratic caste has been brought to life in Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. These anti-Stalinist rebellions were against bureaucratic privilege, for workers democracy and socialism. They proved once again the necessity of political revolution and the hopelessness of reforming the bureaucracy. In addition, they have confirmed the correctness of the program worked out by the Trotskyist movement in answer to the bureaucratic deformation of the workers states.

## Hungary & Czechoslovakia

In the Hungarian revolution of 1956, which marked one of the high points of the antibureaucratic revolution, democratically elected workers councils were formed, based on the factories. The army went over to the workers, the statues of Stalin were toppled, and the secret police were shot. The Hungarian workers were not interested in turning over the farms and factories to a handful of individuals and reintroducing capitalism. They simply wanted their democratic rights, an end to the police terror of Stalinism, and the removal of Soviet occupation troops.

In Czechoslovakia the movement for "Socialism with a human face" revealed again the tremendous attraction the idea of the anti-Stalinist political revolution holds both for the working class in the Stalinized workers states and for workers in the imperialist countries.

In the *Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution*, adopted as the basic programmatic document of the Fourth International in 1938, Trotsky wrote, "A fresh upsurge of the revolution in the USSR will undoubtedly begin under the banner of the struggle against social inequality and political oppression. . . ."

"The struggle for the freedom of the trade unions and the factory committees, for the right of assembly and freedom of the press, will unfold in the struggle for the regeneration and development of *Soviet democracy*." (Emphasis in original.)

This evaluation was confirmed in all the antibureaucratic uprisings so far, where protest against police terror and arbitrary violations of democratic rights has played a prominent part. The class content of these upsurges was also clear. In East Germany in 1953 and Poland in 1956 and 1970, massive workers demonstrations were sparked by economic discontent. In Hungary the revolution was begun by student teach-ins protesting the regime but was soon dominated by the workers councils. These councils organized a massive month-long general strike in protest against the use of Soviet tanks and troops to smash the Hungarian revolt.

In Czechoslovakia, as in Hungary, student ac-



An estimated 500,000 people packed this Warsaw square in 1956 following threat of Soviet invasion of Poland.

tivists also played a big role. An additional element in that experience was the struggle against the oppression of the Slovaks by the Czechs under the Stalinist regime. In the Soviet Union itself, the demands of the oppressed nationalities will certainly play a major role in the political revolution.

A program for political revolution must include demands that address all of these basic problems: the need for democratically elected workers councils to make political and economic decisions; the right of different parties to exist; abolition of the secret police; the rights of free speech, assembly, and press; the right of workers to strike and to form their own organizations; and the elimination of special privileges and wage differentials for administrators.

An especially important part of any program for political revolution in the USSR is the right of nations to self-determination. In the case of Ukraine, for example, Trotskyists are in favor of an independent, socialist Ukraine.

## Soviet dissidents

The role of the Soviet dissidents should be seen in the context of Trotsky's point that the struggle against political repression is the natural starting point for the antibureaucratic revolution.

The dissidents represent a diverse collection of people and views. Some are religious. Others are artists concerned primarily with regimentation in that area. Some, like Sakharov, seem to be similar to European social democrats, while others, like Roy Medvedev, are communists who believe that the bureaucracy can be reformed. And an additional current, represented by figures such as Pyotr Grigorenko, is made up of revolutionary, anti-Stalinist communists who favor the overthrow of the bureaucracy. Grigorenko is currently confined in a Soviet mental hospital because of his political views.

The common bond that links all of these currents together is their struggle against bureaucratic repression and for democratic rights.

In this struggle they deserve total support, regardless of their political views on other issues. They are attempting to arouse broader layers of the population around the issue of democratic

rights and draw them into political activity. And once the masses begin to move, their action has a dynamic of its own, independent of whatever political views are expressed by one or another dissident.

Furthermore, although the capitalist press plays up those in the dissident movement who have rejected socialism, the reality is quite different. Writing in *Voices of the Silent*, for example, Cornelia Gersentmaier notes that the "majority of dissident intellectuals and artists of the 1950's (and even thereafter) did not fight the Communist system, but rather, a privileged caste, which had taken advantage of this system to pursue its own personal power."

"The political views of the [majority of] rebels can be described as 'neo-Leninist' inasmuch as they acknowledge the basic precepts of Leninism and the goals of the October Revolution."

## The real problem

The problem in the Soviet Union today is not the threat of an antisocialist counterrevolution on the part of the masses of people. The problem is the rule of a conservative bureaucracy that retards the advance of the Soviet economy, maintains and exacerbates national divisions and rivalries, makes deals with imperialism at the expense of revolutions abroad, and stands as a major roadblock in winning the workers of the world to a vision of the socialist future.

Therefore, when the Soviet dissidents denounce the crimes of the bureaucracy, and attempt to mobilize opposition to it, they work in the interests of the revolutionary regeneration of the workers states, whether they realize it or not. Such a regeneration would only help the world socialist movement.

## The imperialist view

The imperialist rulers are also aware of this. Thus, the *New York Times* wrote in its Oct. 27, 1956, issue, at the height of the Hungarian revolution, "The view prevailing among United States officials, it appeared, was that 'evolution' toward freedom in Eastern Europe would be better for all concerned than 'revolution', though nobody was saying this publicly."

The following day, the *Times* explained the problem as "how to encourage the nationalist and libertarian spirit in the satellites without flaming it into large-scale revolt. . . . Privately the West pondered during the week the possibility of exploiting the situation without exploding it."

The Soviet bureaucrats and the imperialist rulers in Washington have in common their desire to avoid revolutionary explosions. The capitalists are well aware of the fact that a socialist democracy in the Soviet Union would aid revolutionary struggles throughout the world and would be a beacon inspiring a whole new generation of socialist fighters.

As for the Soviet bureaucrats, the specter of political revolution continues to haunt them. The ability of a handful of writers and intellectuals to throw them into convulsions is ample proof of the bureaucracy's fear of the masses. They know that three great revolutions have already occurred in the country they rule in the last 70 years—one in 1905, two in 1917—and the fourth is long overdue. And when it occurs, the Soviet tanks will be on the side of the revolution.

## Further reading on Leninism & Stalinism

THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED by Leon Trotsky. 314 pp., \$7.95, paper \$2.95.

STALINISM AND BOLSHEVISM by Leon Trotsky. \$.50.

FROM LENIN TO STALIN by Victor Serge. 192 pp., \$6.95, paper \$2.45.

THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN THE SOVIET BLOC by Gus Horowitz. \$.50.

SAMIZDAT: VOICES OF THE SOVIET OPPOSITION. 400 pp., \$13, paper \$3.95.

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# May 11 actions to protest aid to Chile junta

By MARCELA CARRILLO

As Pinochet's military junta pursues its bloody reign of terror in Chile, worldwide support for its victims continues to grow.

In the United States, supporters of democratic and human rights for the victims of repression in Chile have issued a call for demonstrations May 11 to mobilize public opinion in a visible way.

Five groups have cosigned the initial call for the actions, to be held in many cities throughout the country. The groups are: Non-Intervention in Chile (NICH); the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA); Chileans for Democracy; the Medical Committee for Human Rights; and the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA).

While many countries have repudiated the junta's gross violations of democratic rights since it overthrew Allende last September, the U. S. government has taken no such step. In fact, it continues to furnish the Pinochet dictatorship with substantial economic aid. A major demand of the May 11 protests will be that all U. S. aid to the junta be cut off.

The actions will also demand freedom for all political prisoners in Chile and the immediate release of six prominent imprisoned Chileans whose lives are in immediate danger.

The six are Clodomiro Almeyda, former foreign minister and a member of the Socialist Party; Luis Corvalán, general secretary of the Chilean Communist Party; Orlando Letelier, former Chilean ambassador to the U. S.; Luis Vitale, well-known Marxist scholar and writer; Luis Figueroa, president of the now-banned Central Unica



U. S. aid helps maintain repression in Chile

de Trabajadores (CUT—the major trade-union confederation in Chile); and Bautista Van Schouwen, a leader of the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR—Movement of the Revolutionary Left).

The junta has issued a death sentence for Van Schouwen, and it is rumored that he may already be dead.

Of the six individuals on whom the actions will focus, five are being held in various Chilean prisons. The sixth, Figueroa, has taken asylum in the Swedish embassy.

Both Letelier and Almeyda are being held at the notorious concentration camp on Dawson Island, where most former officials of Allende's govern-

ment are imprisoned awaiting trial. One former cabinet member imprisoned on Dawson Island, José Tohá, died recently under mysterious circumstances. The junta reported that he had committed suicide.

Latest reports indicate that Vitale, who is being held in another prison, suffers from ill health, which is endangering his life. Vitale is a leader of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization, and was formerly a leader of the CUT.

The May 11 demonstrations have the potential of involving the broad forces needed to bring maximum pressure to bear on the junta and the U. S.

government. Support will be sought from religious and human rights groups, trade unionists and professional organizations, and others.

A national conference sponsored by the New York Chile Solidarity Committee (CSC) and its affiliates in a few other cities was held in Chicago March 30-31 and adopted a proposal to support the May 11 demonstrations. The proposal was signed by the five groups initiating the May 11 actions and was presented by Eric Leenson of NICH.

The organizers of the conference, however, rejected the list of political prisoners on whom the actions will focus on the grounds that the list had not been approved by the Unidad Popular and other Chilean forces now exiled in Rome. No one, however, could produce an authoritative list from Rome.

One CSC leader proposed a longer list including all the original names except Vitale and Van Schouwen. Supporters of the original proposal argued against the exclusion of Vitale and Van Schouwen and proposed that the list be extended to include other names that had been raised in the discussion. This amendment, however, was never voted on.

Instead, the conference passed a motion, presented by Peter Orris, that no individuals be mentioned at this time.

The May 11 action proposal was well received by participants at a national conference on Latin America held in Madison, Wis., April 4-6 and attended by 500 people.

For more information about the May 11 demonstrations, write to the USLA Justice Committee at 156 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 10010, or call (212) 691-2880.

## New gains for Raza Unida Party in south Texas

By MIGUEL PENDAS

CRYSTAL CITY, Tex.—La Raza Unida Party has strengthened its position in south Texas, sweeping elections in Crystal City and Cotulla.

Arturo Gonzales and Lupe Cortinas were elected April 2 to the city council in *Cristal*, as the Chicano party retained all seven seats. Mercedes Cásarez and Raul Flores won places on the school board April 6.

In nearby Cotulla, Arcenio García, Rosalinda Rodríguez, and Leodoro Martínez were elected to the city council. García had been elected to the council in 1971, along with three other Raza Unida candidates, but the three others abandoned the party after being elected. Two of the turncoats were swept out in the recent election.

In Zavala County, where Crystal City is located, the party made a good showing in the race for a seat on the Uvalde Junior College board of trustees. The junior college district includes two other counties where the RUP is not as strong.

In Pearsall, where 65 percent of the population are Chicanos (Crystal City and Cortulla are about 80 percent), the party came close to winning in three city council and four school board races. And in Hondo, where Chicano students recently boycotted the racist schools, four school board and two city council candidates made a good showing. Chicanos are only about half the population of Hondo and fewer than half the registered voters.

Dozens of other candidates ran for office in places like Carrizo Springs, Eagle Pass, Laredo, Corpus Christi, Uvalde, La Pryor, Harlingen, Brownsville, Seguin, San Marcos, San Benito, Raymondville, Deller, Lubbock, Waco, Kingsville, and Hebbron-

ville. In Robstown, a seat was won on the city water board.

The Chicano party's effort was handicapped in many of these races when candidates put themselves forward more as individuals than as RUP nominees. Often there was only minimal coordination between candidates and little effort to construct a viable Raza Unida Party.

In San Antonio, however, a core of RUP activists campaigned extensively, nearly electing Armando Cavada to the Edgewood school board.

Crystal City is seen as a base of power for the Raza Unida Party, both by many Chicano activists and by the Anglo power structure in predominantly Chicano south Texas. The party first contested in the local elections here in 1970, taking control of the city government and school board out of the hands of the white racists and their Mexican-American supporters.

The victories for independent Chicano political action in Crystal City helped inspire similar efforts elsewhere in Texas and in other states. In 1972 the Texas RUP opposed the Democratic and Republican candidates for state office, garnering more than 200,000 votes. A similar campaign is under way this year.

The Crystal City elections were of special interest this year because of the opposition slate. A grouping calling itself Raza Libre formed in opposition to Ciudadanos Unidos (United Citizens), the community organization that gave rise to La Raza Unida.

Raza Libre claimed that Raza Unida leaders were using their positions in the city government and school board for their own benefit rather than for the people of *Cristal*. They also maintained that anyone expressing even



Militant/Miguel Pendas

Arturo Gonzales speaking at Raza Unida Party victory rally in Crystal City

the mildest criticism of the Raza Unida administration was driven out of Ciudadanos Unidos and the school system.

However legitimate one or another of their grievances may be, it was clear to this reporter that the Raza Libre group was a breakaway to the right of Ciudadanos Unidos and Raza Unida. Much of Raza Libre's election propaganda and statements by their supporters opposed some of the real gains for Chicanos made possible by the Raza Unida victories in *Cristal*.

For example, Raza Libre termed the high degree of movement activity in the schools "brainwashing." Some complained that the RUP-instituted bilingual programs meant students weren't learning enough English.

Raza Libre formally claimed to be an opposition grouping within Raza Unida. However, because of their line Raza Libre attracted the support of the RUP's opponents, including apparently the *gringo* vote. The vote

totals closely paralleled those of recent years, with Raza Unida candidates winning by margins of 2 to 1.

In each election the vanquished *gringos* and conservative Mexican-Americans (Democrats and Republicans in state politics) have combined to run an opposition slate, each time under a different name.

The Raza Libre slate made no noticeable impact on the Raza Unida forces. The RUP headquarters was a beehive of activity on election days, as volunteers, mostly youth, went about the task of getting out the vote. Enthusiastic victory celebrations were held.

Raza Unida activists are confident they can take steps toward winning control of the Zavala County government in the November elections. Party leader José Angel Gutiérrez is running for the powerful post of county judge, and a county commission seat is being challenged. In Cotulla too, the party is running for La Salle County offices.



# Issues in Dist. 1 school board campaign

By KATHERINE SOJOURNER

NEW YORK—The Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese communities of Manhattan's School District 1 have met many challenges successfully in recent years in the struggle for community control of their schools.

In the current campaign to elect a new community school board on May 14, the community's resources are meager. In fact, the Por Los Niños (For the Children) campaign operates from a small storefront on a tiny budget with a third-hand mimeo machine. But many a politician would like to have the energy, talent, and enthusiasm being put into this campaign for the nine candidates on the Por los Niños slate.

Scores of campaign volunteers are active each day, and recently they gathered and filed several thousand signatures on petitions in order to assure the slate a place on the ballot May 14. The total was more than double the number required.

The memory of what happened during the May 1, 1973, school board election remains fresh in the minds of many activists. In that election, the Lower East Side communities were robbed by illegal means of a fair outcome. As a result, a predominantly white board backed by the racist head of the United Federation of Teachers, Albert Shanker, was seated.

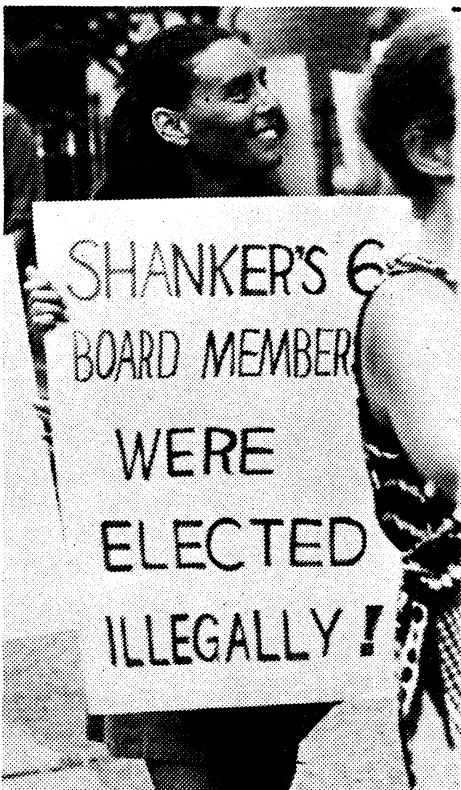
In January of this year, following months of protests, a federal judge threw out this board on the grounds of racial discrimination against Puerto Ricans, Blacks, and Chinese on election day. A new election was set for May 14. Both the city of New York and the UFT have gone to court to try to overturn this decision.

The racists who rule New York City through the Democratic and Republican parties fear any gains for community control by the oppressed communities. They want to continue using the schools to keep each generation of young Puerto Ricans, Blacks and Chinese "in their place." They don't want to lose their "right" to decide what is

to be pumped into the minds of young people.

Despite restrictive laws, inadequate funding, and a flood of racist attacks and abuse from the city and Shanker, the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese communities in District 1 have made some significant gains. Working with a pro-community-control school board majority in 1972-73, they hired community-control fighter Luis Fuentes, a Puerto Rican, as the district superintendent—over the howls of Shanker, the news media, and the city government.

Parent committees screened and hired 15 new principals. They made the district office accessible to parents by moving it to the heart of the district. And they worked with Fuentes and the pro-community-control board to expand bilingual and bicultural education. After the pro-Shanker board stole the election last May, these advances came under attack from



Militant/Michael Baumann

Shanker.

Shanker is a racist and a bureaucrat who cares only about his power base in the union—the older, more conservative and privileged white teachers. The UFT could be a powerful ally of the oppressed communities against the capitalist politicians; instead, Shanker lines his union up with the bosses.

Similarly, Shanker's base of support among the voters in the Lower East Side is the older white voters, the majority of whom have no children in the schools. The Democratic and Republican political machines run the elections and control the ballot box. One of the ways they rigged the voting in the 1973 school board election was to put polling places in the lobbies of white, middle-income apartment buildings in District 1 while failing to place polling sites conveniently for low-income Black and Puerto Rican residents of the Lower East Side.

In ordering the special election for May 14, the federal judge ruled that this placement of polling sites was one of the forms of discrimination on May 1, 1973. He ordered the polling sites out of the middle-income housing projects and into the district's 20 schools, which are evenly spaced throughout the Lower East Side.

The Democratic bosses and Shanker jumped as if they had been stung. No other issue in the federal court decision provoked as much of a furor as this one. The lawyers for the city and the UFT argued that older white voters would be "afraid" to go to the schools. And early this month, three of Shanker's friends who live in the district filed suit, charging that changing the polling sites to the schools is "discriminatory."

On May 1, 1973, three-fourths of the votes for the UFT-backed candidates who were elected came from one small segment of the district known as "Grand Street." In that area, white voters were subjected before the election to a campaign of lies and distortions about the community slate and com-

munity control. "Power hungry groups are trying to take control of our institutions one by one!" the UFT-financed literature threatened.

In response, the turnout was heavier in that area than for any major election in recent years—with as many as 78 percent of registered voters turning out at some polling sites.

The slate endorsed by Shanker for the May 14 election has not yet been officially announced, but it is known

**Georgina Hoggard and Edwina McLaughlin, two of the nine candidates on the 'Por Los Niños' slate, will speak at a meeting sponsored by the Lower Manhattan Militant Forum April 18. The meeting will take place at 7:30 p.m. at St. Marks Church (Second Ave. and 10th St.).**

to include most of the incumbent racist candidates who ran last time. There's no doubt that during this campaign the infamous Shankerite tactics will remain the same, including the use of the smear campaign.

In a recent mailing sent out in English and Spanish, the pro-Shanker "Committee for Effective Education" attacked several of the Por los Niños candidates as "extremists who injure policemen and are associated with communists."

Shanker's tactics may be beginning to have an effect—but not the desired one—on some of the residents of those Grand Street apartments. One older woman recently came into the Por los Niños headquarters with the smear leaflet that had been circulating in her building. She said to campaign workers: "I voted for the UFT slate last time; if this is the low-level trash they have to resort to, I voted for the wrong people. What can I do to help?"

Campaign volunteers and contributors are welcome. If you can help, contact the Por los Niños campaign at 34 Avenue B (at Third Street) or call (212) 673-8322.

## Demand new trial for St. Louis frame-up victim

By BARBARA MUTNICK

ST. LOUIS—More than four years ago, J.B. Johnson, a Black youth from St. Louis, was arrested for a crime he did not commit: a jewelry store robbery in which a University City, Mo., policeman was shot and killed.

In an atmosphere of a frantic police search for a "cop-killer" and a sustained "law and order" campaign by local press and politicians, Johnson was framed up, convicted as the accomplice to the robbery and shooting, and sentenced to life imprisonment.

One of the most outrageous facts of the case is that Johnson was never identified as being present at the robbery. The jewelry store owner picked another man out of the police lineup. He dismissed his error by saying, "All coloreds look alike anyway."

Unembarrassed by this racist comment, prosecuting attorney Noel Robyn repeated it at the trial during his summary to the all-white jury: "Let's face it, to many of us they do look alike."

The man who pleaded guilty to the robbery and shooting has sworn in an affidavit that Johnson did not accompany him that day and named another man as his companion. While this affidavit alone obviously provides the basis for a new trial, Judge Herbert Lasky refused even to schedule a hearing on it.

Johnson's attorneys, William Kunst-

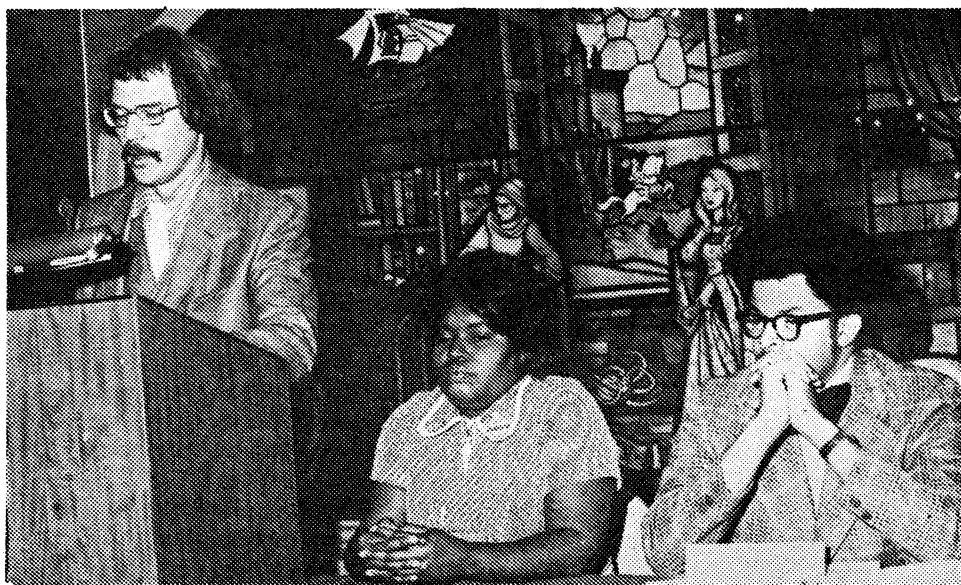
ler and Lou Gilden, filed an appeal brief Jan. 4, citing the conflicting and circumstantial evidence used to convict Johnson.

Since the appeal was filed, support has been mounting for the demand for a new trial. Recent endorsers of the J.B. Johnson defense effort include Imamu Baraka; Dr. Benjamin Spock; Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Benjamin Goins, city license collector; John Bass, city comptroller; State Senator Ray Howard; and Monsignor John Shocklee, director of human relations for the St. Louis archdiocese.

After Johnson's appeal was filed, State Attorney General John Danforth requested and received two delays from the Missouri Supreme Court in submitting the state's answer. The result is that oral arguments will not be heard until September, and Johnson must sit in jail at least six more months before action is taken on his case.

The defense then filed a motion for Johnson to be released on bond. This was denied by the Supreme Court in a matter of days. As Mary Watkins, Johnson's mother, bitterly commented, "It was the fastest court action in the history of the case."

The defense committee recently sponsored a news conference to protest the denial of appeal bond and the delay in hearing the appeal. One of the participants was Dr. Ralph Lee, president of Forest Park Community



Jack Flynn (left), Mary Watkins, and Dr. Ralph Lee at news conference protesting denial of bail to J.B. Johnson.

College, who expressed his solidarity with the efforts to win a new trial.

Defense committee activist Jack Flynn speculated that the real reasons for the delay were political: "County Prosecutor Gene McNary, one of the main architects of the frame-up of Johnson, has already tossed his hat into the ring as the Republican Party candidate for St. Louis County Supervisor. Attorney General John Danforth is one of the leading Republicans in the state."

Thus, Flynn pointed out, both have a stake in not seeing this frame-up

exposed during this election year, and "both would prefer that the case of J.B. Johnson be swept under the carpet for at least another year."

On the other hand, the growing number of people who support Johnson's defense are determined to keep up their efforts until he is freed. A city-wide rally has been scheduled for May 2, at which defense attorney William Kunstler will be the keynote speaker.

For more information, contact the Committee to Defend J.B. Johnson, P.O. Box 4713, St. Louis, Mo. 63108.

# World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS,  
A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

APRIL 19, 1974

## Operations in Indochina, Arab East

# Canada's 'espionage establishment': partner of CIA

By Ray Warden

[The following article is reprinted from the March 4 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Toronto.]

A flurry of scandal, then almost complete silence. That was the reaction of Canada's highly monopolized media to the revelations contained in the CBC's [Canadian Broadcasting Corporation] hour-long January 9 television expose, "The Fifth Estate—The Espionage Establishment."

That the kept press hushed up the story comes as no surprise. After all, Canada's "national security" was at stake: "national security" being the euphemism for the domestic and international intrigue engaged in by Canada's ruling class.

"Participation in this program," the CBC informed its viewers, "was restricted by the Official Secrets Act."

"I don't want to comment on questions of security," Prime Minister Trudeau told reporters after the show. "It's much too delicate. The danger is that you will drag out confidences from me and I'll say things that I'll regret."

In the name of "security," Canadian governments have erected an extensive and well-funded network of agencies dedicated to providing intelligence on those movements which capitalism sees as a threat to its interests, whether at home or abroad.

Canada's secret political police, the Security and Intelligence (S and I) branch of the RCMP [Royal Canadian Mounted Police], is assigned the task of collecting and analyzing data on the activities of all the movements for social change. Through wiretaps, electronic surveillance, and the use of undercover agents, S and I spies on and harasses student activists, trade-union militants, American draft resisters in Canada, radical professors, Québec independentists, immigrants, and socialist organizations. S and I photographers can be seen casually snapping pictures on the edge of nearly any demonstration, adding to the RCMP's exhaustive photo file of "subversives."

The RCMP maintains close relations with other police forces throughout the capitalist world. Its commissioner, William Higgett, is the current head of the international police organization, Interpol, and has access to all its secret files.

The Police and Security Planning and Analysis Group (PSPAG), set up by the government in the wake of the October 1970 "War Measures Crisis" in Québec, has unlimited access to the facilities of the RCMP and intelligence agencies operating through the armed forces, the Department of Na-

tional Defense, and the External Affairs Department. With a \$200,000 budget, the PSPAG collates and analyzes the material collected by other agencies and reports directly to Solicitor General Warren Allmand and the cabinet Committee on Security.

The PSPAG plays a central coordinating role among Canadian intelligence agencies. "If there's going to be a demonstration," says its head, Robert Bourne, "we make sure that all

**Says CIA agent Marchetti: 'about once a week a truck loaded with classified material would drive up to Canada giving them the benefit of much of our collection and analysis on mutual adversaries throughout the world.'**

the people who should know, do know."

The same Watergate tactics employed against radical movements by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in the United States are the stock in trade of Canada's political police. Last April, Conservative MP Erik Nielsen placed twenty-nine questions before the House of Commons inquiring about the activities of the PSPAG.

Nielsen's questions implied, among other things, that the PSPAG had been involved, at least indirectly, in investigations of radicals on universities, trade-union militants, and even opposition MPs. He alleged that the agency had suggested a scheme whereby all the telephones in Ottawa could be kept under surveillance.

In his reply, the prime minister used the words: "It is not considered in the public interest for reasons of national security to disclose . . ." or words similar, eighteen times.

As Nielsen commented: "My questions have been answered by non-answers."

The work of the political police is supplemented by the "anti-subversive squads" operating through provincial and major municipal police forces, and by the score of private police agencies—company police and agencies operating as free-lance scab-herders and agents provocateurs in strike situations.

Last April, NCP [New Democratic party—the Canadian labor party] MP

Ed Broadbent revealed in the House of Commons that H.C. Draper, assistant RCMP commissioner, and Robert Bourne, head of the PSPAG, addressed a meeting of the Canadian Society for Industrial Security on the topic "The threat from subversive elements." The discussion at this businessmen's gathering centered, according to Broadbent, on "subversion" within the Canadian labor movement.

Broadbent was prohibited from attending the meeting and his request for copies of the speech was denied. On grounds—what else?—of "national security."

The January 9 CBC documentary "The Fifth Estate" revealed the existence of yet another secret spying agency, disguised as the Communications Branch of the National Research Council (CBNRC), established in 1940.

The CBNRC, it was revealed, secretly monitors radio communications between foreign embassies in Ottawa and their respective governments, as well as broadcasts emanating from polar regions of the Soviet Union, and parts of Europe.

Through the secret UKUSA [United Kingdom-U.S.A.] Treaty, the program explained, the world is divided into various regions for the monitoring of radio communications by spy agencies in Canada, the U.S.A., Britain, and Australia. With a budget estimated in excess of \$5 million, and some 300 employees on its payroll, the CBNRC works hand in hand with its American counterpart, the National

Security Agency (NSA), and with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

The CIA, notorious for its staging of governmental coups, assassinations, and counterrevolutionary activities throughout the colonial world, operates under diplomatic cover in Canada through the American Embassy in Ottawa. It works in close collaboration with Canada's spying agencies.

John D. Marks, former staff assistant to the director of intelligence and research in the U.S. State Department, told CBC's viewers: "Canada has been, I guess you would say, gracious in permitting American intelligence to build facilities and place machinery on Canadian soil," particularly equipment for eavesdropping on Soviet radio communications.

According to Victor L. Marchetti, who formerly occupied various positions in the CIA bureaucracy, "about once a week a truck loaded with material, classified material, would drive up to Canada giving them [Canadian intelligence] the benefit of much of our collection and analysis on mutual adversaries throughout the world."

When the United States broke off diplomatic relations with the Castro government in 1960, CIA agents working under diplomatic cover in the American Embassy in Havana left Cuba. Their spying mission, according to the CBC documentary, was taken over by the Canadians and British, who reported to the Ameri-

*Continued on following page*



The Congo, 1964. Canada's secret police helped finance mercenaries sent to overthrow regime of Patrice Lumumba.



## ...Canada's 'espionage establishment'

*Continued from preceding page*  
can government and the CIA. The question might be raised: What role did Canadian intelligence play, for example, in the CIA-sponsored Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961?

During the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, according to a former NSA intelligence officer interviewed on the program, Canadian monitoring stations in Europe and the Mediterranean transmitted information to U.S. intelligence agencies. The same information, it may be assumed, was relayed to Israel as a Canadian contribution to their war effort. Do Canadian "peace

keeping" forces in the Middle East today act as spies for Israel?

The program corroborated once again the espionage conducted by Canadian members of the supposedly neutral International Control Commission in Vietnam on behalf of Washington's genocidal war.

The CBC documentary also gave viewers some insight into the methods of Canada's CIA partner in its international, clandestine war against "communism." The program touched on the role of the CIA in toppling the Allende regime in Chile last September, its financing of mercenaries in the Congo

leading to the downfall of Patrice Lumumba in 1960, its sponsoring of the 1953 coup that returned the shah of Iran to his throne, as well as the activities of the CIA in the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, and Greece.

The program documented the campaign of assassination and torture conducted by the CIA through its "Phoenix program" in Vietnam.

Among other CIA tactics the program revealed was the agency's channelling of funds to organizations of the "democratic left." According to former agency officials interviewed on the program, the CIA participated in the funding of "non-Communist" unions in France and Italy, and gave money to the AFL-CIO [American Federation of Labor—Congress of Industrial Organizations] in the United States. One former CIA official related his delivering of a satchel containing \$75,000 to former United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther.

Similarly, the CIA made contributions to the treasury of the German Social Democratic party through its leader, Chancellor Willy Brandt. The agency did the same "for many similar politicians in Italy and France."

The program did not review, unfortunately, CIA penetration of the "democratic left" in Canada, such as the 1967 revelation that the Canadian Union of Students (CUS) had received funds from a CIA-sponsored foundation.

At that time, CUS abruptly cut off relations with the CIA front, and demanded that the Canadian government protest CIA activity in Canada. The Pearson government pleaded ignorance of the activities of its CIA partner.

Has the CIA secretly channelled

funds into other organizations of the "democratic left" in Canada? Into, say, the NDP or the trade-union movement through the use of some "respectable" front?

The failure of the NDP leaders to wage a consistent fight against government spying operations is a scandal which the ranks of labor will not soon forget. Former CCF [Cooperative Commonwealth Federation], leader and NDP "elder statesman" M.J. Coldwell served as one of the commissioners on the 1969 Royal Commission on Security. He participated in the drafting of a report which recommended that the government authorities be empowered to open private letters, tap phones, and use electronic snooping devices. In fact, the report laid the basis for the founding of the Police and Security Planning and Analysis Group.

T.C. Douglas, then leader of the NDP, endorsed the framework of the report. When it was tabled in Parliament, he took the opportunity to congratulate the RCMP for its "very excellent service."

The CBC documentary "The Fifth Estate," gave us only a glimpse of the espionage conducted by Canadian spying agencies at home and abroad. The extent of the Canadian "espionage establishment," the depth of its involvement in international banditry alongside the CIA, remains uncovered.

Canadian working people must fight for the dismantling of the "espionage establishment," the entire network of spying operations, from S and I to the PSPAG to the CBNRC. The trade-union movement and the NDP must demand that the records of these agencies be opened, that the whole sordid truth about Canadian espionage be revealed.



Canadian members of International Control Commission in Saigon. Supposedly 'neutral,' they were conducting espionage for Washington.

## Ukrainian dissident plans hunger strike

## Launch campaign in defense of Chornovil, Moroz

The Chicago-based Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in the Soviet Union has issued an appeal for support in the campaign to free imprisoned Ukrainian dissidents Vyacheslav Chornovil and Valentyn Moroz.

Chornovil, 36, is the author of a well-documented expose of the secret trials of thirty Ukrainian dissidents in 1966-67. An advocate of socialist democracy, he has been imprisoned three times by the Soviet bureaucracy. He is currently serving a term of seven years at hard labor, to be followed by five years of exile. (See *Intercontinental Press*, April 2, 1973, p. 376.)

Moroz, 37, has been imprisoned twice for his outspoken opposition to the Soviet bureaucracy's campaign of repression in Ukraine. He is currently serving a fourteen-year sentence on trumped-up charges of disseminating "anti-Soviet propaganda."

The conditions of Moroz's confinement have seriously weakened his health. "While in Vladimir prison," the defense committee reports, "Moroz has repeatedly been assaulted by criminal cellmates (criminal and political prisoners are integrated), wounded several times and refused proper medical care

by the prison administration.

"After detention in the prison ward for the mentally insane, he has again been relocated to solitary confinement, has been administered brain-damaging drugs, and feels that he is becoming insane. . . .



Vyacheslav Chornovil

"Commenting on Moroz's recent condition, a former prison mate, Anatoliy Radygin, has revealed, 'Moroz is in a state of complete exhaustion and on the verge of insanity. His existence is a frightful combination of starvation and confinement to a ward of an insane asylum. He is subject to attack by creatures who have lost all human and social traits.'"

Stating that he would "rather die from hunger than go insane," Moroz has announced that he will begin a hunger strike July 1 to protest his inhuman prison conditions.

The defense committee is circulating an appeal on behalf of Chornovil and Moroz. The appeal contains the following demands:

"1. We condemn the arrests of Vyacheslav Chornovil and Valentyn Moroz and other political prisoners throughout the Soviet Union.

"2. We demand their immediate release.

"3. We support all those struggling for the realization of national self-determination and democratic rights in the Soviet Union."

The committee is seeking broad en-



Valentyn Moroz

dorsement of the appeal. Copies of it and related literature may be obtained by writing to: Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in the Soviet Union, c/o Defense Book Store, 1131 West Taylor Street, Chicago, Illinois 60607.



## Bangladesh

# Police fire on protesters, carry out mass arrests

Up to twenty members of the Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (JSD—National Socialist party) were killed and seventy wounded in an attack on a JSD demonstration by police and paramilitary forces on March 17.

Three leaders of the JSD—President M. A. Jalil, a leader of the armed resistance during Bangladesh's liberation struggle in 1971, General Secretary A. S. M. Abdur Rab, and Momtaz Begum, secretary of the women's branch of the JSD—were arrested by the regime during the attack. Jalil was beaten and Rab wounded by rifle fire.

In the next few days the headquarters of the JSD were attacked and burned and hundreds of JSD members rounded up, in a major attempt by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's regime to crush the JSD, the largest and most active opposition party.

The JSD launched a campaign of mass opposition to the regime on December 30 with a rally of 100,000 in Dacca. On January 20 a JSD-called general strike paralyzed the country. At a mass rally on February 8, just three days after Rahman's ruling Awami League pushed the Special Powers Act through the National Assembly, giving the regime broad new powers of repression, the JSD raised twenty-nine demands and called on the government to meet them by March 15. The leaders of the JSD proclaimed that if the demands were not met, they would initiate mass actions around the demands.

At another rally in Dacca on March 17, after the deadline had passed, JSD leader Shahjahan Siraj declared that the JSD would begin *gherao* actions (mass actions to surround and sequester business government officials). Jalil and Rab immediately led a march of 5,000 to the residence of Home Minister Mansur Ali. The March 24 *Holiday*, a leftist weekly published in Dacca, described what followed:

"By 6 p.m. thousands of people gathered in front of Mr. Mansur's residence. Jalil and Rab wanted to see the minister and submit a memorandum to him.

"But the sentries posted at the gate of the minister's house would not allow anybody to cross the gate.

"The people became agitated. They started pelting stones on the police, who flanked them from the Hotel Intercontinent and Kakrail Mosque sides.

"Jalil and Rab successfully persuaded the people to become calm.

"But then, suddenly at about 6:15 p.m., police rushed from the Hotel Intercontinent side and lathi-charged [club-charged] the demonstrators in a blind fury. The demonstrators scattered helter-skelter and many crossed the wall of the ramna park. Jalil and Rab tried in vain to restrain the police.

"In the meantime, the law-enforcing agents were reinforced by fresh arrivals of police and the Rakkhi Bahini [Defense Forces]. As the Rakkhi Bahini and the police dismounted from their vehicles, the demonstrators, almost all of whom had taken shelter in the park, became visibly angry and again started pelting stones. For

a few seconds the police and the Rakkhi Bahini got bewildered and were fleeing away from the hailstorm of stones.

"The sudden panic recovered, the Rakkhi Bahini and the police began shooting indiscriminately. The firing continued for about 10 minutes from 6:30 p.m. to 6:40 p.m."

The regime justified the massacre by claiming that the JSD was attempting to overthrow the government. "The government declared," wrote the March 19 *Le Monde*, "that the socialist program of 'direct action,' which is demanding a reduction in the prices of essential goods and a struggle against corruption, is in fact a program aimed at 'the violent overthrow of the legal government.'"

Following up this initial attack, government forces raided and ransacked the offices of *Ganokantha* (People's Voice), the JSD-supported daily newspaper, on the same night. They then arrested the editor, Al-Mahmud, at his home.

The next day, goon squads of the Awami League attacked and set fire to the central office of the JSD in Dacca. *Holiday* cited reports that every day since then leaders and members of the JSD, the Opposition Sramik League, and the Opposition Students' League were being arrested and JSD offices around the country were being burned down. Unconfirmed sources reported, according to *Holiday*, that more than 1,000 persons had already been arrested.

A nationwide strike called by the JSD on March 19 to protest the repression was partially observed throughout the country. On March 20 Shahjahan Siraj, joint secretary of the JSD, and Bidhan Krishna Sen, JSD vice president, issued a statement reaffirming the JSD's pledge to continue raising their demands and mobilizing support. In spite of the government attacks, the JSD opened its central offices in Dacca on the following day.

All the opposition parties and organizations responded immediately. The National Awami party (Bhashani), the Bangladesh Jatiya League, the Jatiya Ganimukti Union (National People's Liberation Union), the Labour party, and the Communist party of Bangladesh (Leninist) all issued statements denouncing the government actions and demanding the release of all the arrested oppositionists.

The Bangladesh Federal Union of Journalists and the Dacca Union of Journalists held a meeting on March 19 protesting the arrest of *Ganokantha* editor Al-Mahmud and restrictions on the freedom of the press. The Press Workers Union also issued a statement.

Four members of the National Assembly condemned the government actions and demanded the release of all the detainees, including Rab and Jalil. Eighty-four intellectuals issued a joint statement demanding the release of Al-Mahmud. *Holiday* reported that a civil liberties and legal aid committee was being formed.

## World news notes

### German doctors admit performing abortions

On March 11, 329 German doctors released a statement saying, "I hereby declare that, without regard for financial considerations, I have performed abortions or helped women to obtain abortions and that I will continue to do so." The statement and list of signers were printed in the wide-circulation magazine *Der Spiegel*. If Germany's antiabortion law were enforced, the statement could mean up to ten years in prison for the signers.

The statement, which contends that "only the woman herself can decide whether or not to be a mother," appears at a time when reforms of the antiabortion law are being considered in the German parliament.

### Appeal for Vladimir Bukovsky

Vladimir Bukovsky, 31 years old, has spent more than eight years in Soviet prisons and mental hospitals because of his political views. His latest prison term was for attempting to expose the Kremlin's use of mental hospitals to confine dissidents.

Now Bukovsky's life is in danger. Unable to break him mentally, the Soviet rulers are trying to break and destroy him physically. According to Bukovsky's mother, Nina Ivanovna Bukovskaya, he has developed rheumatism and a liver disease because of inhuman prison conditions and severe malnutrition. Now the authorities have threatened to transfer Bukovsky to Vladimir Prison, which is notorious for even worse conditions. Eight Soviet dissidents issued an appeal February 27 for international protests on Bukovsky's behalf. They wrote: "Just a year and a half ago Yuri Galanskov, a brave man and a bright spirit, perished in a camp."

"Now they want to destroy Vladimir Bukovsky. "Help us! Do not allow them to commit a terrible new crime in the present 'Archipelago' of suffering and degradation!"



Vladimir Bukovsky

### Dissent among Soviet workers

Another Soviet dissident, Pavel Litvinov, was permitted to leave the Soviet Union last month, and spoke to reporters in Rome March 21 and 22. He said that opposition to the Kremlin involves much broader layers than just the intellectuals who have received most publicity. "There is dissidence also among workers in the Soviet Union, but our mass media don't speak about what's going on in our country."

Litvinov spent four years in exile in Siberia after being sentenced for demonstrating in Red Square in Moscow against the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. He said his experience with workers in Siberia had taught him that there is discontent "on all levels of the working class."

### U.S. 'advisers' in Cambodia

The Cooper-Church Amendment, passed by Congress in 1972, was supposed to bar all U.S. military personnel from functioning in a combat advisory role in Indochina. However, a front-page report in the March 13 *Washington Post* says that U.S. "advisers" are actively aiding the Phnom Penh regime's efforts to hold back the liberation forces. "While junior Cambodia officers say Americans advise in the field around Phnom Penh," wrote *Post* correspondent Elizabeth Becker, "it has never been confirmed. In Kampot, however, it is difficult to hide." She says that U.S. Major Lawrence Onderker "was in and out of the command post, openly recommending military maneuvers."

Meanwhile the March 25 *Far Eastern Economic Review* noted that "United States Marines have taken up positions off the coast of Cambodia." The 1,200 Marines, on ships of the Seventh Fleet, "arrived under a shroud of secrecy from Subic Bay in the Philippines two weeks ago." According to the *Review*, "If necessary, the troops are understood to have orders to enter the country in a show of force. . . ."

### Israeli youth—1 in 5 consider leaving

Opinion polls in Israel show that the October war had a significant impact on the thinking of Israeli citizens. One out of every ten adults is considering emigrating from Israel, according to a poll published in the daily *Ha'aretz*. The disenchantment is much greater among young people, with one out of five considering leaving the country. The war served to highlight the fact that the Israeli people face the prospect of continual threat of armed conflict as long as the Zionist state attempts to maintain itself at the expense of the Arab peoples.

## A letter from Spain

# Youth lead in mass protests against Puig execution

Barcelona

On Friday, March 1, the Council of Ministers is continuing and escalating its anti-working-class and anti-popular measures. The anarchist militant Salvador Puig Antich is executed. Prices are raised again for gasoline and petroleum by-products. Repression in the schools is stepped up by the General Education Law. These are the most revealing examples of the Arias government's policy of "open-mindedness."

These measures touch off a whole series of chain reactions. The essential focus is massive protests against the murder of Puig Antich. In these, the vanguard is mainly the youth. The movement is swelled by various types of actions related to the rising cost of living and other such issues.

On Saturday, March 2, the mobilizations against the murder of Puig are still small, since the bourgeois press blacked out the news until the last possible moment. At the University of Barcelona, some assemblies and demonstrations are held. They are not very large, never exceeding 1,000 participants, but the spirit shown in these actions is a foretaste of what will happen Monday.

On Sunday [March 3], about a thousand people gather for Puig's funeral. They are brutally dispersed by the police, who block all approaches to the cemetery. In the afternoon, various small groups set fire to a couple of banks; a high-power bomb is planted in an army barracks. Likewise in the afternoon, there is a rally in front of the Barcelona Cathedral. It also is broken up by the police, who make several arrests.

The agitation gains momentum with the appearance in several places, such as movie theaters and so on, of leaflets denouncing the murder.

On Monday [March 4], the momentum is carried forward essentially by the mass assemblies that are held in all the universities. The left organiza-

grams from the ecclesiastical hierarchy and from bourgeois institutions in Spain and Europe. It substituted this kind of lobbying for any attempt, however limited, to mobilize the masses. This policy was seconded by the right-centrist organizations.

After the murder of Salvador Puig Antich, the PCE restricted the mass response by the workers to a minimum. It was unable to do this, however, when dealing with the youth, in which case it was to try to limit the duration and objectives of the mobilizations and at the same time try to

other places. Here clashes occur with the police in which their cars are burned and some cops are wounded. There is shooting but there are no victims among the demonstrators, although there are many arrests. (In Barcelona alone it is estimated that during the whole week about 200 have been arrested; there is little news from the rest of the Spanish state, but from the reports of the bourgeois press it seems that there are also many arrests in other places.)

It should be noted that during this entire week the fishing fleet was on an

calls for a requiem for Puig Antich's soul. There is to be a "democratic" gathering afterwards focusing on the call for abolishing the death penalty. The forms of struggle proposed are black crepe, minutes of silence, peaceful demonstrations, and the like.

On Sunday [March 10] the church where the requiem is to be held is completely filled. The police cut off access by blocking all the streets in the area. When the mass starts, the priest informs the crowd that the funeral is not for Puig Antich but for some other person. But everyone can pray for whomever he or she likes. The crowd inside the church, about 3,000 people, begins to hiss him. A rally is held, a conciliationist one. The people are asked to remain inside, shut in, until the police surrounding the building go away.

The members of the LC [Liga Comunista — Communist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International] respond by raising the call for going into the street, for a mass demonstration, as the only effective answer to the crimes of the dictatorship. Then the church is cleared out and various demonstrations are called. Four or five are held. The largest, about 4,000 persons, marches through all the avenues under the slogans: "Down with the dictatorship"; "The dictatorship murders"; "Long live the workers commissions." The attempts by the Stalinists and their stooges to get their own slogans going are rapidly drowned out by the others.

Every demonstration comes into confrontation with the police, although the clashes are not so violent as in previous days. The arrests are estimated at more than seventy. The attendance at the rallies, although there were no great efforts to build them, can be estimated at 12,000 to 15,000 persons.

In the evening on Sunday, there is a demonstration in Sabadell, after a requiem mass. Clashes and shooting occur. One policeman is wounded.

March 10, 1974



Barcelona demonstration against the repression last December.

utilize these actions for the benefit of its pact with the "democratic" bourgeoisie (cf. the rally of the Asamblea de Cataluña mentioned below).

But the dynamic of the movement opposing the attacks of the dictatorship was very different, and this would be shown in the mass attendance at the assemblies, in the demonstrations, and in the confrontations with the police, who came out in unprecedented numbers. In the city and the province of Barcelona, there have been five or six different demonstrations. The largest assembled between 4,000 and 5,000 persons, the majority of them youth. The others brought out numbers ranging from 500 to 1,000. In the various confrontations with the police, shots were fired and Molotov cocktails were thrown, but the only casualties reported were among the forces of "order."

In Madrid also, student assemblies are proliferating, as well as various confrontations in the universities. But so far there has been no citywide action.

In Valencia, Zaragoza, Granada, and Bilbao, the assemblies and demonstrations have the same tone. Zaragoza seems to be the place where they are most massive.

Over Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday [March 5-7], the militancy of the mobilization is maintained, although signs of an ebb are already beginning to appear. Most of the universities are closing (in Barcelona, Madrid, Zaragoza, Valencia, Bilbao, San Sebastián, Granada, and other cities). Demonstrations continue to be called mainly in Barcelona, where the combativity is more persistent than in

all-out strike throughout the state against the higher price of fuel. This action ended with an important victory for the fishermen, who forced the government to lower the price of fuels.

At the same time, in Barcelona, for two days there was an all-out strike by taxi drivers, also over the question of the price of fuel. The police arrested a few of the drivers. But the massive and united character of the mobilization forced their immediate release. The taxi drivers raised the same demand as the fishermen (coupons for buying fuel at a discount). They did not win it, but they were granted a fare increase.

In the past few days, there also have been strikes in some factories protesting the murder of Puig Antich. But most of these were of short duration and rather scattered, called in a bureaucratic way by the traditional leaderships, who were looking for an excuse to avoid doing any genuine mobilizing.

The ebb in the mobilization of the youth, which as we have seen reached a high level of militancy, is due fundamentally to the line of the leaderships of the workers movement, to their refusal to lead the struggle forward starting from the factories and uniting the scattered battles around the axis of the fight against the repression, put in the forefront by Puig's murder. The youth hoped for a reaction from the workers, but the working class was tied down by the attitude of its leaderships and their refusal to give the lead for an effective response.

The PCE prepared its "answer" for Sunday: The Asamblea de Cataluña



Salvador Puig Antich

tions, in general, hold to a treacherous line.

In the whole period before Puig was sentenced, the PCE [Partido Comunista de España — Communist party of Spain] had completely abandoned the fight. Once the sentence was confirmed, it sowed the illusion that Salvador Puig Antich could be saved by tele-

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# Laos: coalition regime will not bring peace

By CAROLINE LUND

On April 5 a new coalition government was established in Laos, composed of "neutralists," rightists, and the Pathet Lao, or Patriotic Front. This is the third attempt at such a coalition in Laos in less than 20 years.

The current attempt at a coalition government stems from the pact on Laos that was part of the Indochina accords concluded in January and February 1973. Last September the Pathet Lao and Vientiane regime signed a protocol setting out the details of the establishment of a coalition government.

Under the terms of the accord, the two zones held by the rebels and the Vientiane regime are to be maintained until the holding of elections for a national assembly and a new government. Despite a decade of ferocious bombing by the U.S., the rebels have been able to win control of four-fifths of the country and about one-third of the population. While the Pathet Lao will continue to administer its zone, the coalition government is to replace the Vientiane regime in the zone that it held.

The two main cities of Vientiane and Luang Prabang are to be "neutralized" under the rule of a joint police force. In Vientiane, for example, the puppet regime and the rebels will

each have 1,000 armed forces, directed from a common command post.

The monarchy of King Savang Vatthana is to be preserved.

In the coalition government, the U.S. puppet Souvanna Phouma will be premier. The most important ministries—the army, police, and finance—will go to the rightists and "neutralists." The Pathet Lao will get foreign affairs, economic planning, public works and transportation, information and tourism, and religion.

All important government decisions are to be made "unanimously."

On the day of the inauguration of the new government, the U.S. State Department released a statement welcoming the coalition and offering to continue economic and military aid. According to a dispatch from Vientiane in the April 8 *New York Times*, the Pathet Lao is ready to accept such "aid."

Last October a reporter for the *Far Eastern Economic Review* indicated the thinking behind this "aid." Writing from Vientiane, the correspondent said that "if American planners have their way, a resurrected method of using aid to defeat the communists at the polls rather than on the battlefields will shortly be in operation."

"Neither the Vientiane side nor the US mission has any intention of 'selling out' to the communists," said this reporter. A "highly knowledgeable American source" told him, "We have a channel directly into the Prime Minister's office" for initiating secret projects with U.S. money.

## No 'national concord'

Both the Pathet Lao and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam have hailed the Lao-tian accord as of "historic and epoch-making significance," and as the road to "peace and national concord." But the new coalition will do nothing to resolve the social conflicts underlying the civil war that has shaken Laos for decades.

Despite the talk of "neutrality," the new government will not be "neutral"

as far as its social system is concerned. It will protect capitalism. The accords explicitly guarantee "Free enterprise and the right to private property ownership."

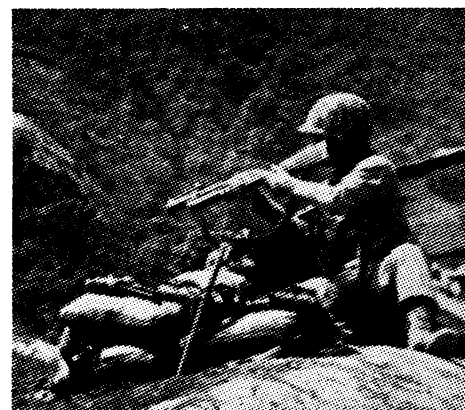
The fact that the leadership of the liberation forces has joined the government will do nothing to eliminate the fundamental causes of the daily struggle between landlords and poor peasants, and between profit-hungry capitalists and the workers. It only



Pathet Lao troops (left), Vientiane soldier. Coalition gov't promises national 'concord.'

embassy organized and financed the overthrow of the coalition government. The new proimperialist regime proceeded to break all the agreements from Geneva and ordered a bloody massacre of Pathet Lao supporters.

The second coalition was arranged by the U.S., Britain, France, China, and the Soviet Union at the 1962 Geneva conference on Laos. It was prompted by the military advance of the Pathet Lao, which was threaten-



means that the rebel leaders have taken up the position of having to enforce this capitalist injustice against the masses of the Laotian people.

## Third attempt

This third attempt at a coalition government in Laos is an obstacle for the liberation struggle, just as were the previous two. In all three coalition attempts, the people of Laos have been compelled to accept solutions as pawns in the diplomatic maneuvers of U.S. imperialism, Moscow, and Peking.

Washington has supported all three coalitions only because they were seen as the best possible means of preserving capitalism and an imperialist foothold in Laos.

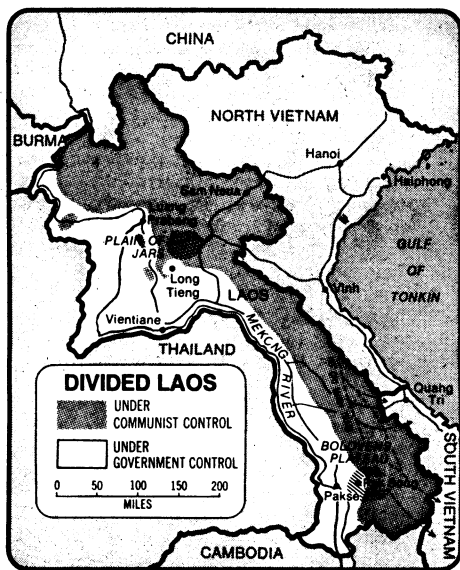
The first coalition government was formed in 1957 as a product of the 1954 Geneva conference. But after the Pathet Lao made a good showing in elections held in 1958, the American

ing to overturn the rightist regime.

This coalition government, headed by "neutralist" Prince Souvanna Phouma, was ended in 1964, when the Kennedy administration arranged a coup by a pro-American section of the army and demanded that Souvanna Phouma either join the rightist regime or be deposed. This regime then "invited" U.S. bombers to come in and devastate rebel-held territories.

From 1957 to 1972 the U.S. spent at least \$650-million on its sabotage and military destruction aimed at preserving capitalism in Laos.

The Laotian accords and coalition government have been lauded and promoted by the Stalinist bureaucrats in the Kremlin and Communist parties throughout the world. The future developments in Laos will be another test in practice of the disastrous results of the "peaceful coexistence" deals between Washington, Moscow, and Peking.



# Gov't secrecy hides mammoth aid to Thieu

During the first year of "peace" in Vietnam, the U.S. has spent only 25 percent less on weapons and ammunition for the Saigon regime than it did during the full-scale war year of 1972.

This fact was noted in a March 20 editorial in the *New York Times*. It admitted, "There is scarcely a pretense any more that the Vietnam truce agreement has brought respite from war."

The hypocrisy surrounding the continuing heavy U.S. backing for the Thieu dictatorship has been spotlighted by the recent debate in Congress over supplemental appropriations for the Saigon regime. President Nixon had asked for \$474-million over and above the \$1.126-billion already voted for Saigon by Congress last year.

Pentagon spokesmen told the Senate Armed Services Committee that if Thieu didn't get the \$474-million, he would have to sharply cut down military operations by mid-April. On April 3, according to the *Los Angeles Times*, State Department officials said that without the extra millions, "a crisis threatening the collapse of the present Saigon government will develop by early next year."

However, on April 4 the House of Representatives voted 177 to 154 in

a surprise decision to block the additional aid.

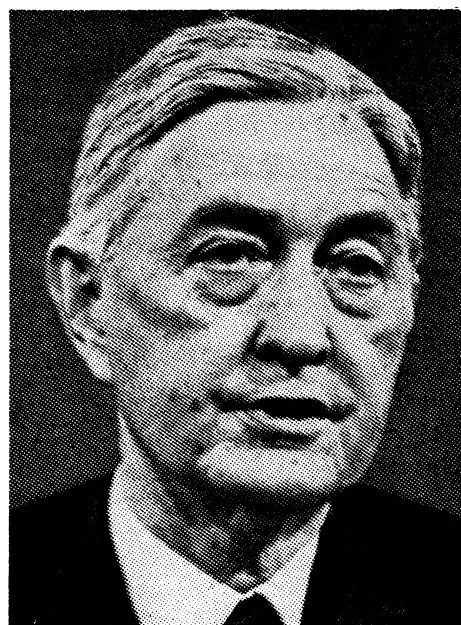
In the Senate, the supplemental appropriations measure faced tough going as well. Senator George McGovern charged that "before the ink was dry" on the Vietnam accords, Thieu's troops were attacking contested areas "in open violation" of the so-called peace agreement.

Even conservative Republican Senator Barry Goldwater has said he will vote against the supplemental appropriation.

For all their posing as opponents of the war, however, none of the politicians in Congress have proposed rescinding the \$1.126-billion appropriation already approved for Saigon.

Amid this debate, Senator Edward Kennedy has revealed some of the government attempts to continue the Vietnam war behind the backs of the American people. Kennedy's subcommittee on refugees, for example, has found that U.S. spending in Indochina this fiscal year is actually \$3-billion, rather than the \$2-billion admitted by official sources.

On April 2 Kennedy released a copy of a secret cable sent by U.S. Ambassador to Saigon Graham Martin to the State Department. In it Martin ad-



MARTIN: 'No honesty or details'

vised Secretary of State Kissinger that it would be "the height of folly" to provide "an honest and detailed answer" to a series of questions from Kennedy about U.S. policy in Vietnam. It is not known who sent Kennedy a copy of the secret message.

In addition to trying to hide the real U.S. policies in Vietnam, Martin has,

according to Kennedy, attempted to restrict congressional investigators' access to embassy files and to censor information from the government General Accounting Office on uses of U.S. funds in South Vietnam.

Kissinger answered Kennedy's question about U.S. commitment to Saigon by pointing to the Vietnam "peace" accords of 1973 as the basis for continued U.S. support for Thieu's war efforts.

This hypocritical statement came as violations of the accords by Thieu's forces become more blatant every day. For example, after six weeks of study and interviews in South Vietnam, *New York Times* reporter David Shipler concluded that U.S. military aid "continues to set the course of the war more than a year after the signing of the Paris Peace agreements" and that the aid "directly supports South Vietnamese violations" of the accords.

Senator Frank Church responded to the Martin cable by charging that "this is more documentary evidence that lying has become a way of life under this administration." Actually, as the Pentagon papers showed, lying about Vietnam has been the way of life of both Democratic and Republican administrations for decades.

## Demand arrest of killer-cops

# Blacks protest slaying of Oakland youth

By JAMES LEWIS

OAKLAND, Calif. — "For us the case is not closed," Mattie Shepherd said at a press conference in front of the Alameda County Courthouse on March 27. She was referring to the murder of her 14-year-old son, Tyrone Guyton, by three white cops on Nov. 1, 1973.

"I, and all the people here today, all of the people in the Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton, and 12,000 people who have signed petitions," said Mattie Shepherd, "believe Tyrone was murdered. And we don't believe his murder was 'justifiable.' We don't believe it was 'justifiable homicide.'"

Tyrone Guyton, a Black youth, was brutally slain by three Emeryville, Calif., cops—Dale Phillips, Thomas Mierkey, and William Mathews.

Guyton was driving a car the police say was stolen. Two of the cops followed him in a patrol car and rammed Guyton's vehicle off the road and into a light post. Guyton jumped from the car and began running toward his home, only a block away.

The police fired seven shots, one hitting Guyton in the back. William Mathews then walked up to Guyton, who was lying face down on the ground, and shot him point-blank with a .357 magnum revolver.

The police claim that Guyton fired a gun at them, but no gun or shell has been found in the vicinity. The

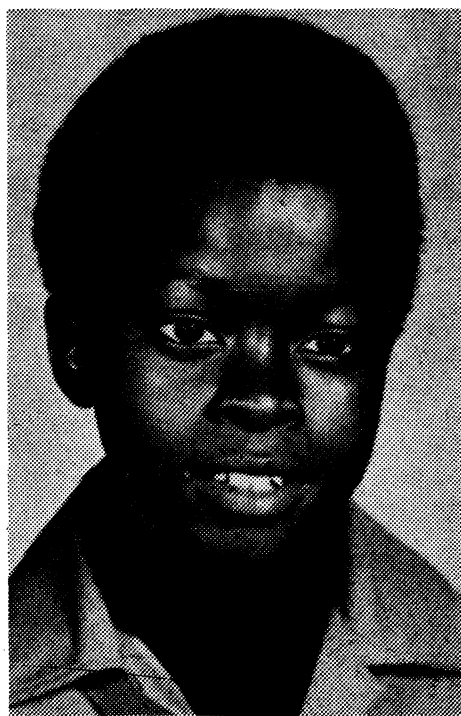
police also claim that after being shot the first time, Guyton tried to roll over and shoot at them. The coroner's report says this would have been impossible.

The truth is that the racist cops murdered Tyrone Guyton in cold blood for stealing a car for a joy ride, which in California is a misdemeanor. Police are not permitted, according to California law, to use guns in cases involving misdemeanors.

Despite the overwhelming evidence against the cops, a grand jury, claiming "lack of evidence," refused to indict the cops. This was the first time in 20 years that a grand jury in Alameda County has not handed down an indictment on the request of the district attorney.

This racist whitewash has met with loud and growing protest from the Black community. The Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton organized a petition campaign demanding that the cops be brought to justice. Twelve thousand signatures have already been gathered.

The Charles Houston Law Club, an organization of Black lawyers in Northern California, sent a letter to the foreman of the grand jury. It said, in part: "For many years we have seen our Black clients' cases come before your body with less than one-tenth of the evidence presented in this case and the grand jury, with only



Tyrone Guyton, killed by shot in the back.

minute evidence, has consistently returned true bills [indictments] in their cases."

Joining the protest was Black Superior Court Judge Lionel Wilson. Wilson said, "the ultimate determination of the grand jury was based more on philosophical and attitudinal consideration rather than on the evidence presented." In other words, the

decision was racist.

The protests forced a reopening of the case by the grand jury. Prior to the rehearing, on Feb. 16, the Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton sponsored a rally attended by more than 500 people. The rally was endorsed by the Black Panther Party, Northern California Welfare Rights Organization, Bay Area Ministerial Fellowship, Charles Houston Law Club, Socialist Workers Party, and the Pan African Peoples Organization.

The grand jury refused once again to indict Guyton's murderers.

The Committee has called for a march and rally on May 18 to demand that the cops be prosecuted and put in jail.

Outrage at the murder continues to mount. Forty people picketed the Alameda County Courthouse on March 27. Fifty people attended a protest meeting sponsored by the Berkeley Militant Forum on March 1. The Laney College Black Student Union held a meeting attended by 60 people to hear Mattie Shepherd. The Laney College students plan another protest on April 18 to publicize and build support for the large protest action planned for May 18.

For more information about the case, write to the Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton, 6118 E. 14th St., Oakland, Calif. 94607. Telephone: (415) 562-5261.

## Brooklyn College 'feminist festival' a success

By IZABELLA LISTOPAD

NEW YORK—April 1 through 5 was Feminist Festival week at Brooklyn College. The festival was sponsored by Brooklyn College Women's Liberation and presented a series of panels, lectures, films, workshops, and entertainment.

Panels discussed questions ranging from "Have Women Always Been the Second Sex?" to "Women and the Struggle for Community Control of Education." At the latter, three parent activists from Manhattan's Lower East Side spoke about the struggle in School District 1 for community control of education.

"Women are often afraid to speak up and fight," said Georgina Hoggard, a candidate in the current District 1 school board elections. "I've been fighting the woman's struggle all my life. Unless you do it for yourself,

nobody else is going to do it."

Fifty people attended a panel on "Third World Women." Speakers at this event were Mary Maddock of the United Farm Workers of America; Paquita Pasquera of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Kathryn Pon of the Socialist Workers Party; and Carolyn Reed from the National Black Feminist Organization.

A lecture by Alix Kates Shulman, author of *Memoirs of an Ex-Prom Queen*, was attended by 100 people. Shulman spoke of the way women have been silenced in a male-dominated literary world. "Women are expected to identify with the male hero," she said, "and if they can't, and identify with women as heroes instead, they are considered neurotic."

Rebecca Finch, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from New York, was one of the speakers on the panel "Femi-

nism: First and Second Wave." She spoke of the impact of the feminist movement on working-class women, pointing to the recent convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women as an example. Forty people attended.

Other panels included "Women in Religion," "Lesbianism," and "Socialization: Sexism in Children's Books." Ellen Frankfort, author of *Vaginal Politics*, also spoke. She explained how the gynecological field is geared toward seeing women as nothing more than breeders.

Several films, including *Salt of the Earth*, were shown, and the festival wound up with a dance on the last night.

The week-long festival afforded many people the opportunity to learn about the various aspects of women's oppression.



Kathryn Pon, panelist in 'Third World Women' workshop.

## Kansas City teachers defy back-to-work order

By HELEN SAVIO

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — The teachers' strike here, now nearly a month old, remains solid despite court back-to-work orders and the board of education's refusal to negotiate.

Teachers walked out March 18 after a breakdown in talks between the board and American Federation of Teachers Local 691, which represents most of Kansas City's teachers.

On the first day about 80 percent of the teachers went out. By the second week of the strike the board officially closed down all the schools and has made no attempt to reopen them. The teachers are continuing some picketing as a show of strength.

A back-to-work injunction issued

April 2 by the Jackson County Circuit Court has been ignored by the teachers. Now the union and its president, Norman Hudson, have been charged with contempt of court.

The union is asking for a 16 percent increase in wages, which now begin at \$7,200 a year. The board has offered 5.5 percent. Since teachers received only a 5.4 percent raise last year, and virtually no raise the year before, their buying power has been significantly eroded by inflation. They are determined to turn this around.

The board's refusal to negotiate any questions involving money, along with its attempt to get teachers to sign individual contracts, are ominous

signs that it is out to break the union.

Nevertheless, discussions with union officials and rank-and-file teachers here indicate morale remains high. Strike rallies are held frequently. Five hundred teachers attended a meeting April 7 at the Muehlbach Hotel, at which union leaders urged them not to sign the individual contracts offered by the board.

In addition, community groups have organized picketing of the board of education to support the strike and demand smaller classes. The Central Labor Council and other local unions also back the strike.

A statement has been issued by Barbara Mutnick, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Mis-

souri, supporting the teachers' demands and their right to strike.

"The main source of the inflation eating away the living standard of Missouri teachers," Mutnick said, "is war spending by the government. While huge Missouri war contractors like McDonnell Douglas and General Dynamics are given multimillion dollar contracts to produce weapons, our housing, hospitals, and schools are allowed to deteriorate."

Taking up the argument that there isn't enough money to give teachers a raise, Mutnick called for eliminating the federal war budget and using that money for "a crash program to construct schools, hire more teachers at union wages, and reduce class size."



# ...monopolies in new price-gouging

Continued from page 28

direct means. Rising unemployment, in particular, is expected to dampen workers' willingness to struggle for higher wages.

Another proposal, suggested by some Democratic Party economists, is for a "social contract" between government and the unions. According to the *New York Times*, these economists "would offer a tax cut for low- and middle-income groups in return for organized labor's willingness to hold wage increases this year to the 6 to 7 per cent that they rose in 1973."

The "social contract" plan, similar to the argument against escalator clauses, is based on the myth that workers and their exploiters can find a common method for "fighting inflation."

The truth is that *opposing class interests* are involved. The capitalists always seek to use inflation to increase their share of social wealth at the expense of the workers. A "social contract" can be nothing but demagoguery to blind their victims and win aid from labor misleaders in perpetrating their wage-cutting plans.

Promises of a tax cut to make this robbery "fair" are guaranteed in advance to be just as worthless as the promises that "wage-price" controls would be "fair."

Another trial balloon with ominous overtones is the "Brazilian solution." As put forward by conservative economist Milton Friedman, this means attaching an escalator clause to *every* aspect of the economy, from wages to the interest rates on bonds, mortgages, and time deposits.

The model is Brazil, where inflation



Women in Tokyo and London protest soaring prices. Struggle against inflation is worldwide.

has been reduced from 90 percent in 1964 to about 15 percent today. Proponents of this scheme discreetly pass over the right-wing coup in 1964 and the fact that Brazil's "economic miracle" entailed military dictatorship, the smashing of the trade unions, and the abrogation of all democratic rights.

The example of Brazil itself proves that some of these supposedly "universal" escalator clauses are more operative than others. A study by Professor Brady Tyson of American University found that "real wages in Sao Paulo for industrial workers dropped over 30 per cent from 1965 until 1971. . . ."

Tyson explained that Brazil's "wage-and-price policies and controls . . . have been designed to concentrate

wealth in the upper strata of society and to extract the savings necessary for industrial expansion from the urban workers. . . ."

Behind the drive to hold down real wages lies the intensifying competition among the big capitalist powers. Each wants to have a rate of inflation lower than that of its rivals, so that its goods are not priced off the world market.

To protect their share of the export market, the rulers of each of the capitalist countries are tightening the screws on their own working class, trying to hold down labor costs while increasing labor productivity through speedup.

Workers around the globe find themselves waging similar struggles to keep up with spiraling prices. The role of

the capitalist state as the defender of the profits of the rich becomes clearer as governments intervene more openly to hold down wages—whether in the guise of "wage-price controls," "social contracts," or "incomes policies."

A lengthy article on worldwide inflation in the April 8 *Time* magazine declared: "The ultimate threat is that inflation will eventually weaken confidence in democratic governments and institutions and prepare the way for sharp, violent shifts to the radical right or left. . . ."

"The process begins by setting labor directly against government. . . . The ideal of public service erodes—children watch their teachers walk picket lines. The government becomes an adversary."

According to *Time*, the root of the problem is that workers have been living too high: "people demand longer vacations, prolong their educations, retire early. . . . Much worse, high incomes breed unrealistic aspirations. More and more workers seek what they believe are jobs with meaning, which they often mistake for big salaries. . . . Fewer people will work hard at the onerous jobs."

At a time when five million workers in this country are unemployed, when real wages have scarcely risen for 10 years, the only "solution" the ruling class has for inflation is more cuts in real wages. "Lower your aspirations," they demand. Tighten your belts! More "hard work" at "onerous jobs!"

But a solution in the interests of the workers lies in just the opposite direction. Class-struggle policies are needed in the labor movement to win cost-of-living escalator clauses for all wages, Social Security, pensions, and other benefits. Working people, who bear no responsibility for inflation, have the right to full protection against its effects.

## Anger rising as fast as prices

Growing economic problems, especially inflation, have sharply heightened distrust in the government, a recent poll shows.

A recent University of Michigan survey of consumer attitudes found the most pessimism in 25 years. Only 6 percent of those polled thought the government is doing a "good job," compared with 20 percent in late 1972, while 49 percent thought government is doing a "poor job," compared with 19 percent in late 1972.

In addition, 76 percent said that the government "wouldn't be successful in reducing inflation during the next year or two." The pollsters added, "very many believed that a recession is here."

Evidence of the anger and radicalization developing among American workers was given by Leon

Schachter, an official of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, in testimony before a Senate subcommittee discussing the wage controls.

Most of Schachter's testimony was devoted to proving the unfairness of the controls. In summarizing the problems he added, "Our members recognize these facts and they are damned angry. In meeting after meeting, the example of the independent truckers is brought forward. Why don't we do the same, they ask? Union officers urging restraint are reminded very pointedly about the years of restraint and what the results have been."

"Many members blame their union, as well as the President and Congress, for the economic trickery which has hurt them so badly. Our lobbying and our many court cases against the blatant inequities of the

Act and the Cost of Living Council's actions appear quite irrelevant to them. Why did the union finally accept the mickey-mouse controls instead of leading the members into massive walkouts to force a change in the stabilization structure, they ask?

"The farce of the so-called economic stabilization has been exposed at the same time as the apparent Presidential corruption has. The problems of inflation, wage controls, energy crisis, milk scandal, ITT case, Presidential taxes and campaign contributions may be nicely compartmentalized to lawyers and perhaps to politicians. But they melt into one rotten mess to a packinghouse worker or a meat cutter or a poultry worker. They believe government policies are for sale and they are paying the bill."

## ...Social Security hoax leaves aged in poverty

Continued from page 28

been an *increased number of arrests for shoplifting in supermarkets by old people* who try to keep alive by stealing cans of tuna and soup, packets of meat, and containers of milk.

One Phoenix, Ariz., blind woman has decided to leave all her lights off. She didn't need them to see by, but they gave her comfort. She said:

"It's like I'm standing still and everything else is moving forward in a hurry."

Mrs. Minnie Hause, an 81-year-old housewife who lives near Atlanta, told one reporter she could no longer buy beans to make her husband's favorite soup.

"They cost 71 cents a pound. . . .," she said. "I didn't buy them. . . ."

A 65-year-old Cleveland said:

"I used to eat ham and pork chops and all that good stuff, but I can't afford that. So I eat out of cans now—corn, tuna fish, and like that."

Mrs. Tilly Bendat, a 77-year-old Bronx widow, gets \$150 a month Social Security. She pays \$112.10 a month rent. She applied for the supplementary aid, but it has never come.

Nelson Burros, cochairman of the Bronx (N.Y.) Committee on Aging, commented: "If we saw a movie where people who reached a certain age were not allowed to work and were not rewarded for surviving that long, why, we'd just be horrified."

And therein lies another hoax perpetrated against aging people. They

are "allowed" to earn \$2,100 a year without losing their pensions. But what kind of jobs are available for those pensioners healthy enough to work? Older men sometimes get jobs as messengers, women do babysitting, etc. With most corporations now screening out their own nearing-60 employees, what chance has a 65- or 70-year-old person got to get any kind of job?

Some time ago it was reported that every 20 minutes someone in this country turns 65. There are now more than 20 million people over 65 and alarmingly, one-third of those are 75 or older.

I say "alarmingly" because with each year in a life span, the problems of life become more acute. Medical ex-

penses increase, especially medicine itself. Eyesight dims, hearing fades, teeth decay, or old plates break. Yet none of these disabilities are covered by Medicare.

Old people stay away from their doctors because they cannot afford the first \$60 cash co-insurance or the 20 percent of the total bill Medicare does not cover.

As the rich get richer, so the poor get poorer. Inflation has created many thousands of new millionaires . . . and many more millions of old people like Morris Nanfman, 76, from New York, who has given up fresh vegetables. He asks:

"What am I going to do if it gets worse? I'm already living on savings. Maybe I'll give up my life."

## 'THE MOTHER AND THE WHORE'

The Mother and the Whore. Written and directed by Jean Eustache. French language film with English subtitles. 1973. Black and white. 210 min.

Jean Eustache's new film *The Mother and the Whore* should be seen by all. Actually, lived through would be more precise.

It's a biting, revealing, beautiful document that captures the lives of a generation of Left Bank libertines and exposes their underlying moral conservatism.

Jean-Pierre Léaud plays the role of a bumming intellectual; Bernadette Lafont the woman he lives off of; and Françoise Lebrun the nurse he takes up with.

Léaud's performance is excellent. Under Eustache's direction, he reaches the pinnacle of the womanizing-theorizing alter-ego of Godard and Truffaut.

There are many superficial similarities between the films of Godard and Eustache. However, they are as different as day and night. Godard, and to an extent even Truffaut, make stylistic choices on the basis of expressing some underlying theme. Their films, Godard's in particular, are polemical works. They are either criticizing (Godard) or romanticizing (Truffaut) about Left Bank dead-beats.

Eustache, on the other hand, was *living* it. His

## Film

new film is more an attempt to document a way of life than subverting his images to make some polemical point. As a result, Eustache's style is more patient than other "New Wave" directors. *The Mother and the Whore* is a slice of life, a memoir.

The dramatic tension of this film lies in the conflict between the high-sounding talk of Eustache's threesome and their inner moral bankruptcy. Their constant jumping in and out of bed is matched by their constant chatter. The characters talk about following the lead of one's passion into a non-possessive paradise, but they haven't really broken from old and outdated moral standards. Their orgies always break down into rap sessions.

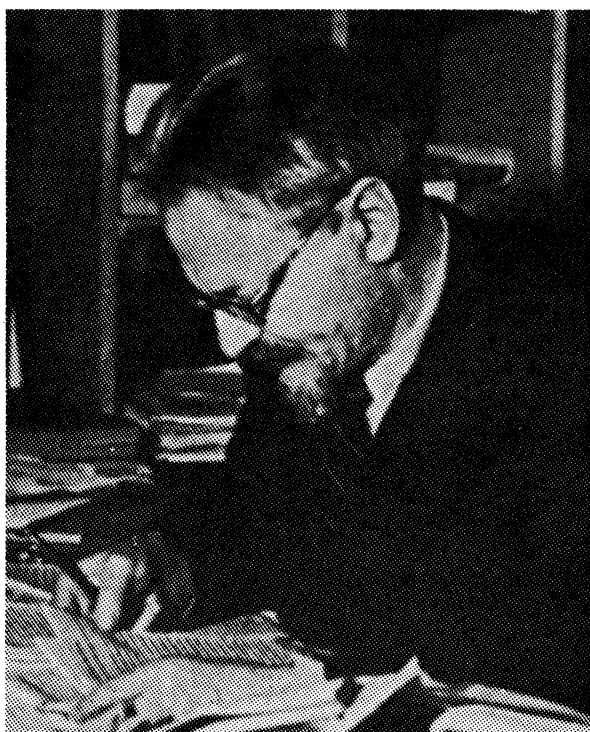
While the movie is organized around the Léaud character, it is the two women who are the most memorable. However, characteristic of most cinema today, the women's vividness comes from their being the center of a *man's* life, rather than being the architects of their own.

Eustache's first film, *Santa Claus Has Blue Eyes*, toured only museums in this country. Hopefully, the six years that have passed since that time will mean a wider audience for this fine artist.

— NORMAN OLIVER



Léaud, Lebrun, and Lafont in Eustache's tale of Left Bank drifters.



## NEW TROTSKY WRITINGS

Writings of Leon Trotsky (1930-31) by Leon Trotsky. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1973. 442 pp. Cloth \$12, paper \$3.95.

One of the byproducts of the canonization of Lenin by the Soviet bureaucracy is that the Kremlin continues to publish his works. The bureaucrats don't understand or care about the ideas to be found there; they just want to dress themselves in borrowed robes to avoid being recognized for the imposters they really are.

Had Leon Trotsky died when Lenin did, he would no doubt have been accorded similar treatment. However, since he lived to oppose the bureaucratization of the Russian revolution, he was expelled from the Soviet Communist Party, exiled from the USSR, denounced as an accomplice of Hitler, and finally assassinated by a Stalinist agent.

Many of Trotsky's works have been published in English and are permanently in print. The largest part of his writings, however, has remained unavailable to most readers. *Writings of Leon Trotsky* is a collection of pamphlets, articles, letters, and interviews written between Trotsky's exile in 1929 and his death in 1940. *Writings 1930-31* is the ninth volume to appear in this series. A total of 12 are projected. This collection goes a long

## Books

way toward filling the gap between what Trotsky wrote and what is available to English-speaking readers.

Although the articles in the 1930-31 volume deal with some 13 countries and a large variety of political issues, the overriding purpose of Trotsky's activity in this period comes through clearly. He was concerned above all with explaining what had happened in the Soviet Union, with exposing the disastrous policies of the Stalinized Communist parties, and with organizing the scattered groups of opposition Communists around the world into a new revolutionary organization that could fight for the leadership of the working-class movement.

About half of the selections in the book deal directly with the problems encountered by different sections of the International Left Opposition outside of the USSR. Most of the rest deal with events inside the Soviet Union, such as Stalin's turn to forced collectivization of the peasantry and industrialization at breakneck speed, and the development of the bureaucratic repression against dissidents.

Unfamiliar references, and where necessary the context in which articles were written, are explained in thorough notes that add immensely to the usefulness of the whole Trotsky *Writings* series.

— DAVID RUSSELL

## 'BITTER WAGES': A NADER STUDY

Bitter Wages: Ralph Nader's Study Group Report on Disease and Injury on the Job by Joseph A. Page and Mary-Win O'Brien. Grossman. New York, 1973. Paper \$2.50.

Every workday, about 50 Americans are killed on the job and more than 6,000 are injured.

Every year, 100,000 individuals die of job-related diseases—cancer, black lung, brown lung, asbestosis, mercury poisoning, and pesticide poisoning, to name a few.

Somewhere between six and 16 million workers are exposed to industrial noises harmful to their hearing.

An "epidemic of occupational trauma and disease" has been "sweeping through the nation with calendar regularity" from the late nineteenth century to the present, Ralph Nader writes in his introduction to *Bitter Wages*, a Nader study group report.

The grim statistics come alive in this well-researched volume through the words of the victims themselves. The victims are those who earn their living in the fumes, dust, heat, noise, and toxic chemicals of U.S. industry, where "modern technology spawns health hazards at the rate of one every 20 minutes."

An asbestos worker testified at a congressional hearing in 1970: "You may wonder why asbestos workers walk backwards. They don't always walk

## Books

backwards. It is only going upstairs. They are so short of breath that after two steps they have to sit down. It is easier to go up a flight of stairs backwards than walking up. It is a terrible way to die."

Despite the reams of testimony, the evidence, and the expressions of concern by government and union officials, little in the way of action has been forthcoming to make the workplace safe.

Official action often takes the form of "educational" campaigns that shift the responsibility from the corporate profiteers to the worker. It's the old story of the victim made to appear as the criminal, as the book is quick to note.

This book documents the history of the Occupational Health and Safety Act of 1970. Although the act opened up the possibility of progress, the results have been paltry. This is because of underfunding of plant inspection programs, a promanagement attitude by government regulators, and most of all a lack of "worker involvement" in the enforcement process, which the authors consider "the key to real progress."

The authors even suggest at one point "worker control of the industrial environment" and therefore the manner of production itself.

They do not overstate the case in saying that workers and their unions will "have to put up a fight" to win safety measures that pose a threat to management's traditional prerogatives—profits.

*Bitter Wages* provides information that will be very useful to working people in this fight.

— ALEX HARTE



Miners hard hit by unsafe working conditions

Militant subscription campaign tops goal

By ROSE OGDEN

More than 8,000 new readers are now receiving *The Militant* on a weekly basis because of the successful subscription drive organized by supporters throughout the country. The original target of 7,000 was surpassed as many areas went over their projected goals.

The largest proportion of the 8,230 introductory subscriptions were sold by members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance on campuses in their cities and out-lying regions.

Some areas also conducted door-to-door sales in the Black community, where they met with a good response. For example, Cleveland sold 86



The Militant gets around: striking miners in Brookside, Ky. . . .

in this way, and Chicago sold 75. One Bay area team sold 46 single copies of *The Militant* and 11 subscriptions by canvassing the Black community in East Palo Alto.

Other supporters sold subscriptions to members of their unions. A supporter in Los Angeles sold eight at one meeting of the American Federation of Government Employees. AFSCME members in Cleveland sold nine to fellow unionists, and a teacher in Washington, D. C., sold four to members of his union.

Many subscriptions were also sold to political activists involved in different struggles. Lower Manhattan reports selling 50 to residents active in the District 1 struggle for community control of their schools. Activists attending the National Black Political Convention in Little Rock, Ark., sold 75 subscriptions, and Los Angeles supporters sold 53 at a conference on undocumented workers.

The *International Socialist Review* also topped its goal of 1,200. A total of 1,730 new subscriptions were sold during the spring drive.

Contributing to the geographic expansion of *The Militant's* influence are the Young Socialist teams, which have left behind them 1,011 subscribers as they have moved from campus to campus. The 14 teams also sell single copies of *The Militant* and the *Young Socialist*, the monthly newspaper of the YSA. Overall in March they sold 5,794 copies of *The Militant* and 4,644 YSs.

Although the subscription drive has ended, *Militant* supporters will continue to approach people about subscribing in the course of day-to-day political activity. For example, supporters involved in the District 1 struggle in New York are planning to continue selling subscriptions as a way to publicize the truth about that fight in preparation for the school board election scheduled for May 14.

They interviewed some of the community activists who regularly read *The Militant*, asking them what they thought of the paper. One parent, Maria Santiago, replied, "I used to buy it in the streets, but I decided to subscribe because after a while I couldn't do without it."

"The common conclusion of many of the subscribers I spoke with," reported one *Militant* salesperson, "was 'I wish more people could read it.' We are taking this as a challenge and we are going to put *The Militant* into the hands of at least 25 new subscribers by May 14."

On the heels of this spring's successful subscription drive, all areas are gearing up for the final seven weeks of the single copy sales campaign. Our goal is to sell 10,000 issues of *The Militant* each week, above and beyond newsstand and bookstore sales and in addition to the areas that have bundles but aren't listed on the regular sales scoreboard. With the campaign already two months underway, some important gains can be noted. Sales in the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities have increased by one-third since our fall sales campaign.

Also, areas report increased sales at workplaces, strike meetings and rallies, and picket lines. The national weekly average of these sales has doubled since last fall.

A total of 7,805 copies of the March 29 issue, headlined "The struggle to win Black political power," were sold by supporters sending in weekly reports. Three hundred of these were sold to participants in the Conference of Labor Union Women in Chicago. An additional 1,400 were sold by the Young Socialist teams.

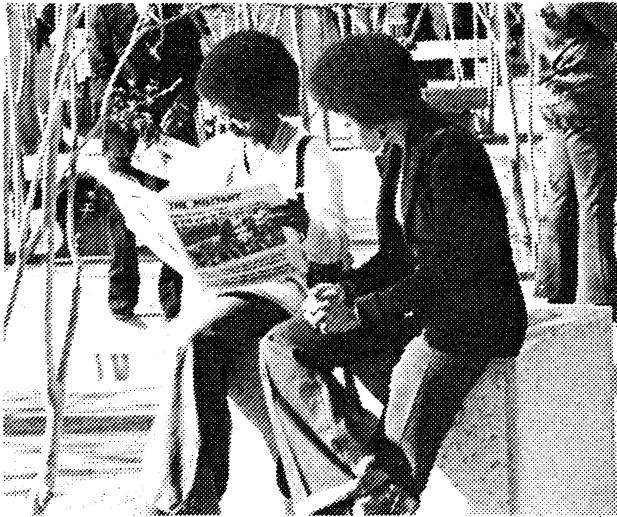
Supporters are now mapping out plans for meeting their sales goals each week. Both San Diego and St. Louis achieved their goals for the second week in a row.

Bruce Marcus, organizer of the SWP in San Diego, explains that one way they have increased sales is through special emphasis on selling in the Chicano and Black communities.

Sales director Dave Welters of the St. Louis SWP reports that their most noticeable area of improvement has been on the campuses, especially community colleges. Evening teams of three to four people average 35 papers on each sale.

Detroit supporters, who went over their goal of 400 for the seventh time, sold 115 *Militants* in three days at registration lines at Wayne State University. Sales director Mark Severs also reports they sold a total of 100 papers at high schools during March.

Jim Odling of the West Side Los Angeles SWP says, "The importance of regularizing sales and having repeat *Militant* customers is starting to show. For the second week in a row one salesperson sold more than half of all her papers to the same people as she did last week because she was in the same place, a supermarket, at



... activists at National Black Political Convention in Little Rock, Ark.

the same time." West Side supporters went over their goal for the third time this spring, selling 364 copies.

This issue sold very well in many Black communities around the country. Oakland/Berkeley sales director Ernie Mailhot reports, "Sales in the Black community were great this weekend. One team of four people in East Oakland sold 110 papers in two hours."

*The Militant* is sold in many cities not listed on the weekly sales scoreboard. All supporters

are encouraged to send their sales figures to the business office during the final phase of the campaign.

Three new requests for bundles came in this week, adding Albany, N. Y.; Chapel Hill, N. C.; and Wallingford, Conn., to the cities where *The Militant* is sold.

To begin receiving a weekly bundle to sell in your area, simply fill out the coupon on this page and mail it to the business office.

Final spring 1974 sub scoreboard

AREA	QUOTA	SOLD	%
E. Lansing	20	60	300
Tucson	7	10	143
Ann Arbor	20	27	135
Logan	25	32	128
Nashville	30	37	123
Washington, D. C.	275	327	119
New Paltz	20	23	115
Amherst	25	28	112
L. A. (West Side)	250	279	112
Lower Manhattan	300	335	112
Upper West Side (N. Y.)	250	281	112
Pittsburgh	125	138	110
San Jose	20	22	110
Denver	275	301	109
Houston	275	297	108
San Diego	200	213	107
Brooklyn	300	318	106
Chicago	500	528	106
Oakland/Berkeley	500	528	106
Seattle	250	260	104
Bowling Green, Ohio	25	26	104
Philadelphia	275	283	103
Twin Cities	275	284	103
Boston	400	407	102
Cleveland	325	333	102
Detroit	300	305	102
L. A. (Central-East)	250	253	101
St. Louis	150	152	101
San Francisco	400	404	101
Bellingham	20	20	100
Bethpage, N. Y.	6	6	100
Mankato	4	4	100
Madison	35	34	97
Milwaukee	20	17	85
Portland	175	149	85
Columbus	20	15	75
Atlanta	275	200	73
New Brunswick	20	13	65
Indianapolis	20	11	55
Kalamazoo	20	11	55
Champaign	20	10	50
Santa Barbara	20	10	50
Austin	60	26	43
Cincinnati	20	8	40
St. Cloud	20	8	40
Iowa City	20	7	35
Phoenix	20	7	35
Worcester	25	8	32
Bloomington	75	21	28
Athens, Ga.	20	4	20
Lexington	20	4	20
Hartford	25	4	16
Baltimore	20	3	15
Ossining	20	3	15
San Antonio	15	2	13
Kansas City	20	2	10
Mt. Pleasant	50	3	6
Columbia, Mo.	20	1	5
Edinboro	20	1	5
General		116	

YOUNG SOCIALIST TEAMS:

Rocky Mountain	90	99	110
New England	90	98	109
Mid-Atlantic	90	94	104
Southeast	90	93	103
So. California	90	90	100
Texas/Louisiana	90	90	100
Pennsylvania	90	77	86
Illinois/Wisconsin	90	69	77
Michigan/Indiana	90	69	77
N. Y./Conn./N. J.	90	63	70
Upper Midwest	90	55	61
Ohio/Kentucky	90	53	59
No. California	90	35	39
Northwest	90	26	29
TOTAL	7,000	8,230	118

Sell The Militant

Join *The Militant's* sales campaign by taking a regular weekly bundle to sell on your campus, at your job, or near where you live. The cost is 17 cents per copy, and we will bill you at the end of each month.

I want to take a weekly sales goal of \_\_\_\_\_  
Send me a weekly bundle of \_\_\_\_\_  
( ) Enclosed is \$4 for a *Militant* shoulder bag (large enough to carry dozens of *Militants* plus books, leaflets, etc.)

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_  
State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014



# Calendar

## BOSTON

**THE MYTH OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY—A YOUNG SOCIALIST SYMPOSIUM, APRIL 19-20. AT MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY.** Fri., Apr. 19, 8 p.m., Bldg. 1, Room 190: Watergate and Black America. Panel: Dr. Joseph Boskin, professor of history, Boston Univ.; Arnold Coles, National Prison Reform Association; Ollie Bivins, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Apr. 20, 11 a.m.: Bldg. 2, Room 190: Politics of oil—Behind the energy crisis. Speaker: Dick Roberts, associate editor, *International Socialist Review*; 3 p.m., Bldg. 2, Room 190: Reform and revolution through history. Speaker: George Novack, socialist scholar and lecturer. Donation: \$1 per session, or \$2.50 for all three sessions. Ausp: MIT Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (617) 482-8051.

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY 1974 CAMPAIGN BANQUET AND RALLY.** Sat., Apr. 20. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.). 6 p.m.: refreshments; 7 p.m., dinner; 8 p.m., rally. Speakers: Don Gurewitz, SWP candidate for governor of Massachusetts; Rebecca Finch, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from New York; Rexford Weng, vice-president, Massachusetts State Labor Council; Florence Luscomb, longtime feminist. Donation: \$5. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

## BROOKLYN

**THE STUDENT STRUGGLE IN PUERTO RICO TODAY.** Speakers: Selva Nebbia, recently returned from Young Socialist team in Puerto Rico; Prof. Bersilio Serrano, Puerto Rican studies dept., Brooklyn College. Fri., Apr. 19, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

## CLEVELAND

**'POTEMKIN.'** Film by Sergei Eisenstein. Fri., Apr. 19, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-3278.

## DENVER

**THE DEATH PENALTY IN COLORADO.** Speaker: Joe Johnson, author of "Prisons in Revolt." Fri., Apr. 19, 8 p.m. 1203 California. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 623-2825.

## DETROIT

**PUERTO RICO: THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE.** Speakers: Rudy Zeller, recently returned from Young Socialist team in Puerto Rico; Jose G. Perez, national committee member, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Apr. 19, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

## EDINBORO, PA.

**FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM.** Speaker: Christina Adachi, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Wed., Apr. 17, 8:30 p.m. E.C. 111, Edinboro State College.

## LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

**THE HEARST KIDNAPPING: WHY REVOLUTIONARIES OPPOSE TERRORISM.** Speaker: Dan Styron, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Fri., Apr. 19, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

## NEW YORK CITY

**TEACH-IN IN DEFENSE OF SOVIET DISSIDENTS.** Speakers: Murray Kempton, David Dellinger, Grace

Paley, George Novack, and exiled Soviet dissident Aleksandr Yesenin-Volpin (special appeal in behalf of political prisoners P. Grigorenko, V. Moroz, and V. Chornovil). Thurs., Apr. 18, 8 p.m. New York Univ., Rm. 703 Main Classroom Bldg. (Washington Square East). Ausp: Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, NYU Young Socialist Alliance, others.

## NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

**THE STRUGGLE FOR COMMUNITY CONTROL IN DISTRICT 1.** Speakers: Georgina Hoggard and Edwina McLaughlin, two of the nine candidates on the Por Los Ninos (For the Children) slate in the special District 1 school board election. Thurs., Apr. 18, 7:30 p.m. St. Mark's Church (2nd Ave. & 10th St.) Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

## NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

**WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR: THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE, TO PICKET, TO BOYCOTT.** Speaker: Richard Chavez, New York Farm Workers boycott coordinator. Fri., Apr. 19, 8 p.m. 2726 Broadway (at 104th St.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

## OAKLAND/BERKELEY

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Olga Rodriguez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Calif.; Peggy Wilson, SWP candidate for secretary of state; Froben Lazada, head of Chicano studies, Merritt Coll. Fri., Apr. 19, 5 p.m., refreshments; 6 p.m., Mexican dinner; 8 p.m., rally; 10 p.m., party. 1849 University Ave. (near Grove St.), Berkeley. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1974 Campaign Committee. For more information call (415) 548-0537.

## PITTSBURGH

**PRISONS: RESISTANCE & REPRESSION.** Speakers: Kenny Owens, director, Manchester Community Center; Ellard Yow, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Apr. 19, 8 p.m. 304 S. Bouquet St. (in Oakland). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

## ST. LOUIS

**THE U.S. ROLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.** Speaker: Malik Miah, national committee member, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Apr. 19, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland (at Euclid), Room 17. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

## SAN DIEGO

**THE SECOND NATIONAL BLACK POLITICAL CONVENTION: A FIRSTHAND REPORT.** Speaker: Omari Musa, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, 28th C.D. Fri., Apr. 19, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd., Second Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

## SEATTLE

**'END OF THE DIALOGUE.'** Film and speaker from the South African Action Coalition, Vancouver, B.C. Sat., Apr. 20, 8 p.m. 5623 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, and South African Action Coalition. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

## TWIN CITIES

**HEAR ATTICA DEFENDANT JOHN HILL.** Also, color documentary film of the Attica prison revolt. Fri., Apr. 19, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**ISSUES IN AMERICAN AND WORLD POLITICS: SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND, APRIL 19-20.** Fri.,

Apr. 19, 7:30 p.m.: Black political power in America today. Speakers: Herbert X Blyden, facing charges stemming from the Attica rebellion; Andrew Pulley, national chairman, Young Socialist Alliance; Nan Bailey, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of D.C., Sat., Apr. 20, 11 a.m.: Nixon's attacks on U.S. workers—prospects for socialism in America. Speaker: Derrick Morrison, SWP candidate for governor of New York; 2 p.m.: The international struggle against political repression. Speakers: Dr. H.I. Hussaini, others. Rm. 402 Student Center, George Washington Univ. Donation: \$2.50 for all three sessions; \$1 per session. Ausp: Young Socialists for Bailey and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (202) 783-2363.

## ...Panthers

*Continued from page 6*

hind the Dec. 4 raid.

O'Neal said the arms were considered "antiques" and had been around for months, "maybe even a year." If this is the case, why would the FBI order a full-scale raid to retrieve useless arms? And why would the government wait for months, knowing about the weapons, before taking action? The only explanation can be that the "arms cache" was a phony pretext for the murderous attack on the Hampton home.

More of the grim details of the Dec. 4 raid may emerge soon. Attorney Haas has told *The Militant* he expects to take a deposition from FBI agent Mitchell in the near future.

## ...labor

*Continued from page 10*

ords in this paper, Senator Henry Jackson voted against labor only once out of 120 times.

A: Labor party representatives in Congress wouldn't vote against labor even once! I'll tell you something. Henry Jackson didn't support the truckers' strike, and Jackson voted in favor of the wage controls and in favor of laws prohibiting railroad strikes.

Adlai Stevenson and Henry Jackson have never been in a strike or walked a picket line in their lives. In any real showdown they side with the bosses, not us. They just want our votes and money in election years.

What is Senator Jackson proposing to do about inflation, unemployment, or the oil trusts? Nothing! I think you'll see in the next few years which side Jackson and the other politicians are on. Jackson's just doing a lot of talking because he's running for presi-

dent.

**Q: It sounds like you're trying to convert us to socialism.**

**A: Yes, I am.** Because it's the only way we can really solve our problems. You see, I don't think there's a dime's worth of difference between George Wallace, George McGovern, Richard Nixon, Hubert Humphrey, Henry Jackson, or any of the politicians. Perhaps George Wallace is a bigger con man than the others, but he doesn't represent workers.

(Interruption: George Wallace hasn't done anything for the labor movement in Alabama, I'll have to agree with you on that.)

Good, I'm glad to see we do agree on something, and in the next few years I think you will agree with us socialists on many more things, like the need for the labor movement to organize its own political party.

Yes, I'm for socialism, and I think that perhaps you and many other union representatives and workers will be for socialism in the future.

**Q: It sounds to me like you're talking about Communism. I've been in the labor movement before you were born, and we've been shot at on the picket lines, and we're against Communism.**  
**A: A fellow by the name of Eugene Debs was one of the greatest union organizers in our history. He helped organize the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, led many important strikes in the railroad industry, and was one hell of a socialist. I think we can learn something from him.**

(Response: I heard him speak once.)

## ...Con Ed

*Continued from page 11*

not to pay their Con Ed bills and urge others to do the same.

Recently the city's Environmental Protection Agency turned down Con Ed's request to burn coal. It was estimated that burning coal would have increased the amount of soot and dust dumped into the air to 9,750 tons a year.

Finch also appeared at hearings on this Con Ed request. She called for no burning of coal or other poisonous fuels.

# Socialist Directory

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: YSA, c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

Tucson: YSA, S.U.P.O. 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720.  
**CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-1512.

Los Angeles, West Side: SWP and YSA, 230 Broadway, Santa Monica, Calif. 90401. Tel: (213) 394-9050.

Los Angeles—City-wide SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-0357.

Riverside: YSA, c/o University of Calif. Riverside, 1134 Library South, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, c/o Glenda Horton, 1253 S. 7th St. #70, San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 292-3289.

Santa Barbara: YSA, 760 Oak Walk, Apt. H, Goleta, Calif. 93017.

**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.-7 p.m.

**CONNECTICUT:** Hartford: YSA, P.O. Box 1184, Hartford, Conn. 06101. Tel: (203) 523-7582.

New Haven: YSA, c/o Jon Kegler, 1563 Chapel St., Apt. 3, New Haven, Conn. 06511.

**FLORIDA:** Tallahassee: YSA, Box U-6014, Tallahassee, Fla. 32306.

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

**HAWAII:** Honolulu: YSA, c/o David Hough, 447 Seaside Ave. #186, Honolulu, Hawaii 96815

**ILLINOIS:** Chicago: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737, YSA—(312) 427-0280, Pathfinder Books—(312) 939-0756.

**INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Indianapolis: YSA, c/o Dave Ellis, 309 E. Vermont, Indianapolis, Ind. 46201.

**IOWA:** Iowa City: YSA, c/o IMU, Univ. of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa 52240.

**KANSAS:** Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, Dept. of Entomology, Univ. of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans. 66045  
**KENTUCKY:** Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

Louisville: YSA, P.O. Box 8026, Louisville, Ky. 40208.

**MARYLAND:** Baltimore: YSA, 2103 Belair Rd., Baltimore, Md. 21213. Tel: (301) 732-8996.

College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Amherst: YSA, R.S.O. Box 324, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speakers' Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

Worcester: YSA, P.O. Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

**MICHIGAN:** Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103 Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 668-6334.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

Kalamazoo: YSA, c/o Gail Altenberg, 728 S. Burdick St., Apt. 3, Kalamazoo, Mich. 49007.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, P.O. Box 98, Warriner Hall, CMU, Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48858.

**MINNESOTA:** Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, Labor Bookstore, 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls., Minn. 55414.

Tel: (612) 332-7781

St. Cloud: YSA, c/o Atwood Center, St. Cloud State College, St. Cloud, Minn. 56301.

**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4660 Maryland, Suite 17, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

**NEW JERSEY:** New Brunswick: YSA, Box 445, Woodbridge, N.J. 07095. Tel: (201) 634-3076.

Paterson: YSA, P.O. Box 1532, Paterson, N.J. 07509.

**NEW YORK:** Binghamton: YSA, Box 1073, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-4142.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Wiloughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Long Island: YSA, 20 John St., Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.

New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-4966.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 2726 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Charlotte: YSA, c/o Gene Phil-yaw, 1023 Dorm '73 UNCC, Charlotte, N.C. 28213. Tel: (704) 537-3235.

**OHIO:** Bowling Green: YSA, Box 27, U. Hall, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43402.

Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 242-9043.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: SWP—(216) 391-5553, YSA—(216) 391-3278.

Columbus: YSA, c/o Margaret Van Epp, 670 Cuyahoga Ct., Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 268-7860.

**OREGON:** Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

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PORTLAND

## Attend the Oregon Socialist Campaign Conference April 19-20

FRIDAY, APRIL 19, 8 p.m.: Watergate and the energy crisis: How to fight back. Speaker: MACEO DIXON, cochairman, Socialist Workers Party 1974 National Campaign Committee. SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 11 a.m.: Chile: The meaning of the coup—Panel discussion; 2:30 p.m.: Solzhenitsyn and Soviet dissent—Panel discussion; 6 p.m.: Socialist 1974 campaign banquet and rally. Featuring STACEY SEIGLE, SWP candidate for governor, speaking on 'Who rules Oregon?'

Conference sessions at 208 S.W. STARK, ROOM 501. Banquet and rally KOINONIA HOUSE, 633 S.W. Montgomery, PORTLAND. For information contact Oregon Socialist Workers Campaign Headquarters, 208 S.W. Stark, Room 501, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

## Monopolies plot new round of price-gouging

By ANDY ROSE

Consumers are about to be hit with a new round of price-gouging as the last of the "price controls" end this month.

The Labor Department's wholesale price index jumped 1.3 percent in March, bringing it to 19.1 percent above a year earlier.

Significantly, the farm products component of this index declined slightly in March. That does not necessarily mean food prices will go down, but it does indicate a new surge of inflation for a broad spectrum of industrial products—inflation that will soon reach the retail sales counters.

Some of the biggest wholesale price increases were for chemicals, 5.7 percent; fuel, 4.8 percent; metals, 4.4 percent; lumber, 3.3 percent; and pulp and paper, 3.2 percent. These are all increases for one month.

The April 1 *Wall Street Journal* gave an indication of what is happening to these industrial prices: "Aluminum companies, decontrolled last week after months of maintaining what they call 'artificially low' prices in an extremely strong market, are busily building a pricing structure that could well be a springboard to record 1974 profits." (Emphasis added.)

It might be noted that while the Big Four aluminum companies were bemoaning "artificially low" prices, they racked up profits last year of \$276.5-million, up 54 percent from 1972.

### \$10 jeans

On April 3 the *Journal* ran an article entitled "Big New Price Rises On Retail Products Expected in the Fall." It said that most department store prices are "a mere 5% to 7% higher than a year ago."

Now, however, "much higher manufacturers' prices... will be passed on to retail consumers. And retailers will



maintain or increase their own percentage markups."

One sample prediction was that a pair of jeans that now costs \$6.99 will be \$9.99 this fall—a 43 percent increase.

The prospect of "double-digit" inflation (10 percent or more) in this country, along with the impending demise of the "wage-price" controls program, has prompted a lively debate among capitalist politicians and Wall Street economists.

This is different from the debate in working-class households over how to get by on a paycheck that buys less every week. The debate in the ruling circles is fundamentally a debate over how to prevent wages from catching

up with prices.

Some believe it is an error to allow the "wage-price" controls to expire as scheduled April 30. After both the House and Senate banking committees voted to kill all legislation for continued controls, the editors of the *New York Times* complained: "Congress seems bent on demonstrating that it can outstrip the White House in reckless abandonment of the war against inflation."

The *Times* went on to warn: "Interest rates are climbing again, and unions are demanding escalator clauses to 'insulate' their members against the impact of higher costs for everything they buy."

"Every developed nation, and the

United States most of all, recognizes the fallacy that the cure for inflation can be built on shelter for everyone—workers, farmers, independent truck operators, utilities, landlords, etc.—against the erosive effect of inflation."

### Who profits from inflation?

What does this argument really mean? The capitalist politicians and media try to present rampant inflation as a mysterious plague afflicting "the nation" as a whole, hurting workers and employers alike.

Workers shouldn't demand escalator clauses, the argument goes, because everyone can't be protected against rising prices. We must all sacrifice—"equally," of course—in the "war against inflation."

This is a deliberate deception, as the government's and corporations' own figures prove. Those who suffer from inflation are working people, especially the poor and those on fixed incomes, while the biggest corporations invariably profit.

The real buying power of the average paycheck, after deducting taxes and the effects of inflation, has declined 4.5 percent in the last 12 months. But the last year corporate after-tax profits increased 27 percent.

What this means is that inflation has taken billions of dollars out of the pockets of working people and put it into the bank accounts of the capitalists.

The government's "wage-price" controls were consciously designed to facilitate this robbery. Because the top trade-union officials accepted the controls, first-year wage increases in union contracts were successfully pushed down from an average of 11.6 percent in 1971 to 5.8 percent in 1973.

Now, for the most part, the capitalists seem willing to gamble on junking the discredited and unpopular controls and trying to hold down wages by less

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## Social Security raise: cruel hoax for aged

By MARVEL SCHOLL

What the federal government "gives" its old citizens, its blind and disabled with one hand, it takes back with the other. Take the April 1 increase in Social Security pensions.

In January the so-called guaranteed annual income program, or Supplemental Security Income, was put into effect for those poor people who could qualify. The federal government shared with state and local governments in these additional payments. More than three million persons have been receiving these supplemental checks. They range from up to \$76.85 for single pensioners getting \$130 or less, to up to \$99.93 for couples with basic incomes of \$195.

Now, with the April 1 increase of 7 percent in Social Security pensions, the supplementary income checks will be cut by the amount of the increase. The same thing will happen when

another 4 percent pension increase comes on July 1.

New York's Governor Malcolm Wilson calls the federal government's withdrawal of funds to pay this supplemental security "a cruel hoax" and "rank federal discrimination." He is talking not so much about the 279,652 people in New York state as about the fact that this cutback in federal aid will throw a great many of the former recipients back on state and local relief administrations. But his characterization of the terms of this so-called increase is very true.

Take for instance the fact that living costs are going up an average of 10 percent annually; since 1969, medical care costs have risen 22.5 percent, rent 18 percent, and food almost 40 percent.

Some social service agencies report growing numbers of the elderly applying for aid to buy food. There has

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Elderly couple search for discarded food outside New York City grocery